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CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS

Edited by

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VOLUME 5

Linguistics in South Asia

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

on a plateau, ignorant of what may lie ahead in regard to the budgetary situation under the Nixon administration and in the next Congress, yet optimistic that the federal support of science will, over the long pull, turn upward withal. In this time of relative famine at home, it was very gratifying indeed to have just recently been granted partial support in aid of Vol. 10 by The Canada Council (as will be spelled out in my Introduction to that book). The burdens of financing the series, incidentally, are shared (beginning with Vol. 8) with the staff of the Center for Applied Linguistics, nobly John H. Hammer, for whose efforts we can all be grateful.

This volume, on *Linguistics in South Asia*, once again exemplifies an important facet of editorial policy, first announced in Vol. 2, calling for the services of "the best and most knowledgeable collaborators available, regardless of their location or even fluency in English." The present contributors come from three continents: South Asia — Ceylon, India, and Pakistan — is heavily represented; from Europe, we welcome our first Soviet collaborator, as well as authors from Czechoslovakia, England, France, and The Netherlands; and quite a few of those now residing in the United States are themselves of Asian provenance. The fact that an increasing number of *Current Trends* contributors lack native competence in English continues to pose mounting problems, involving the location of competent translators and taxing the skills of our technical staff both in editing and indexing, but the principle of global distribution of authorship still seems to me paramount. The death of Louis Renou, a few days after he wrote me that "je n'estime pas nécessaire de revoir la traduction anglaise avant qu'elle soit donnée aux presses", raised special perplexities that were essentially resolved by Barend A. Van Nooten (University of California, Berkeley); further revisions in the manuscript were then made by Associate Editor Emeneau and in galley by Sialal.

The Master List of Abbreviations, Index of Languages, and Index of Names were compiled by Magdalena Zoepfritz (now at the University of Mainz). The Editor wishes to express his appreciation to her for attending to these chores and many others; her help in seeing this book through galley proof stage has been invaluable, as has that of Truene Glover in seeing it through page proof stage. Thanks are due to the four editorial associates and the thirty-four living contributors whose work appears in the following pages, for their wholehearted cooperation; to Albert S. Storm and Julia A. Petrov, of the U.S. Office of Education, for their continuing help and understanding; and to the staff of Mouton & Co., for their responsiveness to my editorial demands, reasonable and unreasonable.

I have taken the liberty of dedicating this book to the memory of Louis Renou (d. 1966) and of my old friend, Joseph K. Yamagata, word of whose death reached me while I was drafting these lines.

Bloomington, December 24, 1968

THOMAS A. SEBEOK

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MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAAH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest).
ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies.
AcOr	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> , <i>editio Societatis Orientalis Danica</i> , <i>Norvegica</i> , <i>Suecica</i> (= <i>Le Monde Oriental</i> , Copenhagen).
ADAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst</i> (Berlin).
AIOC	<i>All India Oriental Congress</i> .
AION-L	<i>Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione Linguistica</i> (Napoli).
AL	<i>Acta Linguistica</i> (= <i>Revue internationale de linguistique structurale</i> , Copenhagen).
ALB	<i>The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar</i> (Madras, India).
ALH	<i>Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest).
ALI	<i>Atlas linguistique des peuples iraniens</i> .
AM	<i>Asia Major</i> , New Series (London).
AMA	<i>American Anthropologist</i> (Menasha, Wisc.).
ANAT	<i>Année de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Bruxelles).
ANL	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Bruxelles).
AnthPro	<i>Anthropos</i> (= <i>Revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique internationale</i>).
AO	<i>Archiv für Völker- und Sprachkunde</i> , Fribourg, Suisse).
AOH	<i>Archiv Orientalis</i> (Praha).
AR	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest).
ArchL	<i>Asianic Researches</i> , Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, The Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia (Calcutta, 11 vols, 1799-1810, Repr. London).
AS	<i>Archivum Linguisticum</i> . A review of Comparative Philology and General Linguistics (Glasgow).
Av.	<i>American Speech</i> . A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage (New York).
AUC-Ph	<i>Avestan</i> . See pp. 3-35.
B	<i>Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica</i> , Praha.
BDC	<i>Bengali</i> . See p. 646, fn. 78.
B.E.	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute</i> (Poona).
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> (Saigon).
BHV	<i>Bhavanî Vidyâ</i> (Bombay).
BLHP	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica</i> (Taipei).
Bo	<i>Bombay and Sind</i> . See p. 646, fn. 78.
BPTJ	<i>Buletyn polskiego iowazniowego jazykoznawstwa</i> [Bulletin de la Société polonaise de Linguistique] (Wrocław & Kraków).
Br.	<i>Brahui</i> . See p. 310.
BS.	See V.S.
BSL	<i>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris</i> (Paris).
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i> (London).
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i> (The Hague & Wiesbaden).
Cadair	<i>Current Anthropology</i> . A world journal of the sciences of man (Chicago).

MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Voorzetsisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'</i> (Annuaire de la Société orientale 'Ex Oriente Lux') (Leiden).
JGyLS	<i>Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society</i> . Third Series (Edinburgh).
Ji	Jharna.
JOIB	<i>Journal of the Oriental Institute</i> , M.S. University of Baroda (Baroda, India).
JRAL	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (London).
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (London).
JRASB	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> (Calcutta).
Ju.	Juang. See p. 412.
Ka.	Kannada. See pp. 309-310.
K.Ga.	Kondékar Gadaba. See pp. 309-313.
Kb.	Khará. See p. 412.
Khr.	Proto-Kharvarian. See p. 413.
KK	Proto-Korku-Kharvarian. See p. 413.
KM	Proto-Koragut Munda.
Ko.	Korku. See p. 412.
Ko.	Kola. See p. 310.
Kod.	Kodari. See p. 310.
Kol	Kolami. See p. 310.
Kratyos	Kratyos. Antiquities Bericht- und Remissionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (Wiesbaden).
KSINA	<i>Veščie soobščeniia Instituta narodov Azii</i> (Moskva).
KSIV	<i>Veščie soobščeniia Instituta narodov Azii</i> (Moskva).
Kur.	Kurukh. See p. 310.
Kw.	Korva. See p. 412.
KZ	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen</i> , begründet von A. Kuhn (Göttingen).
L ₁	See p. 638.
L ₂	See p. 638.
Lg.	<i>Language</i> . Journal of the Linguistic Society of America (Baltimore).
Lingua	<i>Lingua</i> . International Review of General Linguistics [Revue internationale de linguistique générale] (Amsterdam).
LL	<i>Language Learning</i> (Ann Arbor).
LPosn	<i>Lingua Posnaniensis</i> (= <i>Czasopismo poświęcone językoznawstwu porównawczemu i ogólnemu</i>) (Poznań).
LRGP	Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan.
LSI	<i>The Linguistic Survey of India</i> , ed. G. A. Grierson (1903-28). See p. 355.
LT	Literary Tamil.
Luz	See p. 434.
M	Proto-Munda. See p. 413.
Ma.	Malayalam. See p. 310.
Malt.	Maho. See p. 310.
Mian	Mian. A Record of Anthropological Science (London).
Mid. Ta	Middle Tamil. See pp. 309-313.
NH	Modir and head. See pp. 627-678.
NH	Proto-Mundari-Ho-etc. See p. 413.
NHO	Modir, head, and qualifier. See pp. 627-678.
NIA	Middle Indo-Aryan.
Nidn. Ta	Modern Tamil. See pp. 309-313.
Migt	See p. 434.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin</i> (Berlin).
NK	Muslim Kashmiri. See p. 291.
NKNA	<i>Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks</i> (Amsterdam).
	Morgensterne See p. 434.

MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xiv	<i>Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure</i> (Genève).
CFS	Proto-Central Munda. See p. 413.
CM	Colloquial Tamil.
CT	Dravidian. See p. 646, fn. 78.
DAB	<i>Dissertation Abstracts</i> (formerly <i>Microfilm Abstracts</i>). A guide to dissertations and monographs available in microfilm (Ann Arbor, Mich.).
DED	<i>Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> , Supplement.
DEDS	Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.
D.M.K.	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.
DV	See p. 431, fn. 1.
E	English. See p. 646, fn. 78.
El	<i>Epigraphica Indica</i> (Calcutta).
ELT	<i>English Language Teaching</i> (London).
FO	<i>Folia Orientalia</i> . Revue des études orientales (Craiova).
Ga.	Gara. See p. 412.
Gad.	Gadaba. See p. 310.
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> (Göttingen).
GK.	<i>Gengo kenkyū</i> (= <i>Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan</i> , Tokyo).
Go.	Gondi. See p. 310.
Go.	Gorun. See p. 412.
GR	Proto-Gutob-Remo. See p. 413.
GRG	Proto-Gutob-Remo-Gara. See p. 413.
Gu.	Gutob. See p. 412.
Guj.	Gujarati. See pp. 3-35; p. 646, fn. 78.
GUPOGU	<i>Gauhati University Postgraduate Students' Journal</i> (Gauhati).
H	Hindustani. See p. 646, fn. 78.
HandVIFC	<i>Handelingen van het Vlaams Filologencongres</i> (Leuven).
Hermans	See p. 434.
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> (Cambridge, Mass.).
HK	Hindu Kashmiri. See p. 291.
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i> (Bombay).
IA	Indian Indo-Aryan Languages of India. See p. 646, fn. 78.
IA	Indo-Aryan.
IATR	International Association of Tamil Research.
IE	Indo-European.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> (= <i>Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft</i> , Berlin).
IHQ	<i>International Historical Quarterly</i> (Calcutta).
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> (s-Gravenhage).
IJAL	<i>International Journal of American Linguistics</i> (Baltimore).
IL	<i>Indian Linguistics</i> (= <i>Journal of the Linguistic Society of India</i> , Poona).
IndE	Indian English. See p. 646, fn. 78.
Indn	See p. 636, fn. 38.
IRAL	<i>International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching/Internationale Zeitschrift für angewandte Linguistik in der Sprachforschung</i> (Heidelberg).
IrvANTaut	<i>Iravastya Akademi nauk Tadshikoi SSR, Otdelenie obščestvennykh nauk</i> (Dushanbe).
IvSO:NI	<i>Iraštva Severo-Orientalnogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo Instituta</i> . Jazyk naznane (Ordosnikdzel).
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> (Paris).
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (New Haven, Conn.).
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> (Calcutta).
JASP	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan</i> (Dacca).
JAS	<i>The Journal of Austrorussian Studies</i> (Victoria, B.C.).
JHORS	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i> (Patna).
JCBRAS	<i>The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> (Colombo).

- MRPhon
 MSH
 MSP
 MSS
 Mu.
 NAA
 NAWG
 NDVS-F
 NESG
 NIA
 Nishida HK
 Nishida LL
 Nishida SH
 N.K.
 NM
 NTS
 OHBJ
 OIA
 OLD
- Le Maître Phonétique*. Organ of l'Association Phonétique Internationale (London).
 Modern Standard Hindi. See p. 167.
 Modern Standard Panjabi. See p. 136.
Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft (München).
 Mundari. See p. 412.
Narad' Asil i Afrik (= *istoriya, ekonomika, kul'tura, Moskva*).
Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse (Göttingen).
Nauyge doklady Vys'ei Shkoly, Filologicheskie nauki (Moskva).
Journal of the National Educational Society of Ceylon.
 New Indo-Aryan.
 See p. 434.
 Nishida HK
 See p. 434.
 Nishida LL
 See p. 434.
 N.K.
 See p. 310.
 Proto-North Bonda. See p. 413.
Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap (Oslo).
Oriental Historical Research Journal (Oriental).
 Old Indo-Aryan.
Oriental Literary Digest. A monthly journal devoted to the reviews on current literature in all branches of Indology and allied subjects in the field of Oriental learning (Poona).
 Ollari. See p. 310.
Orbis. Bulletin international de documentation linguistique (Louvain).
 Old Tamil. See pp. 309-333.
 Panjabi. See p. 646, fn. 78.
 Paris. See p. 310.
Paidema (= *Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, Wiesbaden).
Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia).
 Proto Central Dravidian. See pp. 309-333.
 Proto-Dravidian. See pp. 343-371.
Phonetica (= *Internationale Zeitschrift für Phonetik*, *International Journal of Phonetics* (Bazel & New York)).
 Prakti.
 Proto North Dravidian. See pp. 309-333.
Prachinabharaniaka.
 Proto South Dravidian. See pp. 309-333.
Problemy vostokovedeniia (Moskva), after 1961, NAA.
Quert. A quarterly in linguistics, criticism and ideas (Bombay).
 Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire (Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis) (Bruxelles).
 Remo. See p. 412.
 RHMA = PHMA, PHMA (= *Mitteilungen zur ind.-vornachindisch-indologischen Horkunde, sowie zur indologischen Sprachtheorie* (München)).
 RENJO
Revue de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales (= *Structures des langues et civilisations du monde contemporain*, Paris).
Revue d'Histoire des Religions (= *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris).
Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche (Milano).
Rivista Linguistica. Bollettino dell'Istituto di Glottologia dell'Università di Roma (Roma).
Rocznik Orientalistyczny (Warsaw).
 See p. 434.
 Roma-Tas
 See p. 434.
 RSO
Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma).

- SA.
 SAE
 SAL(s)
 SCL
 SEATO
 Semita
- Sanskrit. See p. 412.
 South Asian English. See p. 628.
 South Asian Language(s). See p. 639.
Studi e Cercati Linguistici (Bucaresti).
 South-east Asia Treaty Organization.
Semita. Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'études sémitiques de l'Université de Paris (Paris).
 Proto-Sora-Goruma.
 Seminar on Grammatical Theories in Kannada.
 See p. 434.
 Shafer CJH
 See p. 434.
 Shafer CST
 See p. 434.
 Shafer EH
 See p. 434.
 Shafer LL
 See p. 434.
 Shafer N
 See p. 434.
 Shafer PA
 See p. 434.
 Shafer PC
 See p. 434.
 Shafer
 See p. 434.
 SIA
 See p. 434.
 SL
 See p. 434.
 SN
 See p. 434.
 SO
 See p. 412.
Studia Orientalia, editi Societas Orientalis Fennica (Helsinki).
 School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
Sovietovoe vostokovedenie, izdati A.N. SSSR (Moskva).
 Society for Pure English.
Die Sprache (= *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, Wien).
Sri Jayasingh.
 Tamil. See p. 309.
 Tamil. See p. 646, fn. 78.
Transactions of the American Philological Society (Philadelphia).
 Tamil Culture.
 Telugu. See p. 309.
 Telugu. See p. 646, fn. 78.
Telugu. See p. 646, fn. 78.
Telugu. See p. 309.
 Toda. See p. 310.
 Tocharian A and B.
Tsing Pao (= *Archives concernent l'histoire, les langues, la géographie et les arts de l'Asie Orientale*, Leiden).
Translation of the Philological Society (Oxford).
Trudy Samarkandskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. Alimov Narol (= *Novaya seriya, Samarkand*).
Trudy Tbilisskogo gosud. universiteta (= *Seriya filologicheskikh nauk, Srombi. filologicheskoe gosud. universiteta* im. A. A. Zdanova (Leningrad)).
 Tulu. See p. 310.
Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society.
 Telugu verbal bases.
Trudy vostochnogo instituta im. Vostokov (Moskva).
Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher (Wiesbaden).
University of California Publications in Linguistics (Berkeley & Los Angeles).
 University of Ceylon Review.
 See p. 434.
 Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift [Recueil de travaux publié par l'Université d'Uppsala] (Uppsala).
Ustvenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia (Moskva).
Ustvenye zapiski Leningradskogo ostana Leningra gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. A. A. Zdanova (Leningrad).

MASTER LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

VDI	Vechnik Drenes' Istorii (Moskva).
v.l.	See V.S.
Vla	Voprosy Iazykovedeniia (Moskva).
VNA	Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
VLU	Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks (Amsterdam).
v.s.	Vechnik Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta (Leningrad).
Word	Vikram sarvai.
WR	Word (=Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York, New York).
WZKM	See p. 481, fn. 1.
WZSO	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien).
WZUR	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens und Archiv für indische Philo- sophie (Wien).
ZDMG	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock. Gesellschafts- und sprach- wissenschaftliche Reihe.
ZPhon	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Weisbaden).
	Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin). (From vol. 14, 1961: Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung.)

PART ONE
INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

and *Sinhalese grammar* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Sydney, 1964) is based, the author claims, on fieldwork done on errors in English. Carlton Samarajiva and R. M. Abeysekera, "Some pronunciation difficulties of Sinhalese learners of English as a foreign language", *LL* 14:1 and 2 (1964), and T. Kandiah, "Teaching of English in Ceylon: Some problems in contrastive statement", *LL* 15:3 and 4 (1965), deal largely with phonology, although some grammatical features are touched upon. Kandiah's, which is meant as a reply to Samarajiva and Abeysekera, is a more comprehensive and systematic analysis of the subject. Kandiah published another paper on "The teaching of English as a second language in Ceylon" in the *Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society* (1964). Chitra Wickramasuriya, "Mistakes in vocabulary and grammar resulting from difficulties with the phonemes of English", *Journal of the National Educational Society of Ceylon* 11:1 and 2 (1960) was the first error analysis to be published.

Teaching of the Mother Tongue

De Silva, "Synopsis of a programme for the teaching of Sinhalese grammar to Sinhalese students", *Journal of the National Educational Society of Ceylon* 18:1 (1964) and "Some notes on the teaching of Sinhalese grammar" (S), *Piyawana* 11 (1959-60), deal with the problem of teaching literary grammar in schools.

Textbooks for non-Sinhalese Speakers

Since Sinhalese was made the official language of the country, several Beginners' Courses have been written in Ceylon, but most of these are not properly planned works. Three books, however, are worth mentioning: namely, D. Garunasinghe, *Sinhalese: the spoken idiom* (München, 1962), M. W. S. De Silva and D. D. De Saram, *Spoken Sinhalese for the beginner* (Colombo, 1963), and G. H. Fairbanks, J. W. Galt, and M. W. S. De Silva, *Colloquial Sinhalese* (Cornell South Asia Program, Ithaca, 1968).

NEPALI AND PAHARI

T. W. CLARK

PAHARI

1.1 The term Pahari, glossed by Grierson as 'of or belonging to the mountains', was used by him to designate the languages of the Himalayan and connected ranges within an area extending from Kashmir to east Nepal.¹ These languages he classified in three groups geographically: Western Pahari, including Kashmiri and the languages of the Simla Hills, Central Pahari, Garhwali and Kumaoni; and Eastern Pahari or Khas-Kurā, commonly called Nepali (Nepālī). In so doing, he resorted to the term Pahari to one language, Nepali. The other Himalayan languages of the country he treated separately in another volume,² on the grounds that they were Tibeto-Burman not Indo-Aryan, as Nepali is.

1.2 In this essay the term Pahari is used with a different denotation. It comprises those 'Himalayan dialects' as Grierson calls them, which, taken together with Nepali, constitute the languages which are spoken today in the Hill sectors of the country. It does not include the languages of the Nepalese Tarai, the Plains sector of the country, which are for the most part dialects of the languages of the north Indian states which share a common frontier with the Tarai.

2. LANGUAGE STATISTICS

2.1 According to the preface of the *Nepal Census Report 1952/54*,³ the census tabulations showed 58 languages spoken in Nepal. About 20 of these were grouped together into a category of "Other languages",⁴ because there were fewer than 1000 persons speaking any one of them. If from the remaining 38 we subtract the 18 Tarai and Indian languages which are included in the returns, we are left with 20 languages which are spoken in the Hills today: Nepali, Tamang or Lama, Newari, Tharu, Magar, Rai, Kirat, Gurung, Limbu, Bhote Sherpa, Sunuwar, Chepang, Thami,

¹ G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India* 9: 4.1.

² *Ibid.* 3:1177 ff.

³ *Census of Population, Nepal, 1952/54 A.D.* (Department of Statistics, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1958). The report of the census held in 1961 has not yet been published.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xi.

Danuwār, Majhi, Kumkale, Thakali, Darai, Jirel, Byansi and Raji.⁵ Of these the last eight have fewer than 10,000 speakers. The entry *Tharā* needs qualification as 242,850 speakers out of a national total of 359,594 live in the Tarai. *Rai Kirā* and *Bhojē Sherpā* are conglomerate categories. The former includes a number of disparate tribal languages, according to Grierson 17.⁶ It is doubtful too whether *Bhojē* and *Sherpā* should be regarded as one language, even though they are mutually comprehensible. *Bhojē* is a Tibetan language spoken by persons resident in the trans-himalayan regions of north and north-west Nepal. The *Sherpās* live mostly in the northern part of the country on the southern slopes of the Himalayan range.

2.2 The total population of Nepal in 1952/54 was 8,256,625, of whom 5,867,208 lived in the Hills and 2,389,417 in the Tarai.⁷ The Hill language returns, recorded under *Mother Tongue* and *Secondary Language*, and corrected to the nearest 1,000, are as follows:⁸

<i>Mother Tongue</i>	
Nepali	3,920,000
Temang or Lama	478,000
Newari	372,000
Magar	260,000
Rai Kirat	233,000
Gurung	162,000
Limbu	145,000
Tharu	117,000
Bhojē Sherpā	70,000
Sunuwar	17,000
<i>Secondary Language</i>	
Nepali	1,013,000
Newari	10,000
All others	20,000 (approx.)

These figures leave no doubt regarding the primacy of Nepali among the Hill languages of the country: Out of a total Hill population of 5,867,000, 4,933,000, i.e. 84%, speak Nepali, either as their mother tongue or as a secondary language.

3. THE NAME NEPALI

3.1 Nepali is *de facto* and *de jure* the national language of Nepal. It is the language of government, of the university and schools, of Nepal Radio and of the newspapers. It is the lingua franca throughout the Hills, except in the sparsely inhabited regions to the

⁵ Ibid. 44-7.
⁶ *LSJ* 3: 1305 ff. 405 ff.
⁷ Census Report, p. v.
⁸ Ibid. 44-7.

north of the Himalayan range where the people are ethnically and linguistically Tibetan.⁹ Yet the title *Nepali* as applied to the language is of very recent origin, and even today it has not been universally adopted in common parlance, either by those who speak it as their mother tongue or by those to whom it is a second language.

3.2 If the early Khas tribesmen, who so far as is known were the original speakers of the language,¹⁰ had a distinctive name for it, there is no record of it extant. It is possible that an appellation of some antiquity is preserved in the Newari term *khai bhāy*, i.e. *khas bhāyā*, which the Newars used, and still use, to distinguish Nepali from their own language, *newā*: *bhāy*, or its variant *nepā*: *bhāy*, i.e. *nepāl bhāyā*. Kirkpatrick in 1793 knew the language by the name *purbuti*,¹¹ which corresponds to the modern *parbat* or *parbatīyā*, i.e. belonging to the hills. Hamilton, who was in Nepal during 1802-3, knew both terms. 'The language spoken by the mountain Hindus in the vicinity of Kathmandu, is usually called the Parbatīya basha, or mountain dialect; but west from the capital, it is more commonly known by the name Khas basha, or dialect of that name.'¹² Hodgson, who was in Kathmandu till 1843, also employed both terms, *khas bhasha* and *parbatīya bhasha*.¹³ So it is apparent that both names were current until about the middle of the 19th century. According to a tradition still to be heard in Kathmandu, Jang Bahadur decreed that the word *khas* was to be discontinued and replaced by *Chetri* or *Gorkhā*. This story would seem to find confirmation by the occurrence in a drill manual issued in 1874 by order of Rānāuddip Simha Rānā of a note that the manual had been translated from English into '*gorkhālī bhāṣā nāgarī akṣarāḷā*', i.e. '*into the Gorkhālī language in the Nāgarī script*'.¹⁴ In 1899, Dopping-Heppensal and Kushal Sing Burathoki published in Calcutta a *Khas Gorkhālī grammar and vocabulary*.¹⁵ The spelling Gorkhālī instead of Gorkhālī is interesting in view of the now widely accepted Anglicised forms *Gurkha* and *Gurkhālī*. Hemrāj Pandit's grammar, published in Kathmandu in 1912, was entitled *Gorkhābhāṣā vyākaraṇ*,¹⁶ and in 1917 another grammar appeared also under the title *Gorkhābhāṣā*. The establishment about 1920 of an official language and censorship committee under the style *Gorkhābhāṣā Prakāśint Samiti* is evidence that the term *gorkhā bhāṣā*, as well as its congener *gorkhālī bhāṣā*, was at this time fully acceptable to the Nepalese government.

3.3 Nevertheless in the body of his grammar Hemrāj Pandit uses the term *nepālī-bhāṣā*, which suggests that by the second decade of the 20th century a new name was

⁹ D. L. Snellgrove, *Himalayan pilgrimage* (Oxford, 1961).
¹⁰ G. Tucci, *Preliminary report on two scientific expeditions in Nepal* 129 (*Serie Orientale* Roma, 1950).
¹¹ Colonel Kirkpatrick, *An account of the kingdom of Nepal* 220 (London, 1811).
¹² Francis Hamilton (Buthanar), *An account of the kingdom of Nepal* 16 (Edinburgh, 1819).
¹³ B. H. Hodgson, *The languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet* 1 (London, 1874).
¹⁴ Rānāuddip Simha Rānā succeeded Jang Bahadur as Mahārāja of Nepal.
¹⁵ M. E. Dopping-Heppensal, Subadar Kushal Sing Burathoki, *Khas Gorkhālī grammar and vocabulary* (Calcutta, 1899).
¹⁶ Gururāj Hemrāj Paudel, *Conchikā, Gorkhābhāṣā vyākaraṇ* (Kathmandu, (?) 1912; this is the traditional date: the volumes are not dated).

coming into use in Kathmandu. The name *nepāl* and derivatives from it were first employed to designate the language in British India. Ayton's grammar published in 1820¹⁷ was entitled *A grammar of the Nepalese language*. The phrase *nepālībhāṣā* appears in a translation of the Bible made in 1821. The word *nepāl* seems first to have been used by Turnbull in his *Nepālī grammar*,¹⁸ and in 1877 Keilig used the variant spelling *Nepālī* in the second edition of his Hindi grammar. These titles did not, however, command themselves to the Nepalese of Kathmandu. Grierson declared both terms to be of foreign coinage, and he was probably right at the time. Europeans call it *Nepālī* or *Nepālī*. This is a misnomer for it is not the language of Nepal, but only of the Aryan rulers of the country. The inhabitants of the country give this name (in a slightly corrupted form) to the principal Tibeto-Burman language of the country, Newari, and call the Aryan language *Khasakura* or *Khaso-speech*. It is also called *Gorkhālī*. Another name is *Parbatiyā* (which is much used in Nepal itself by the people who speak the language. . . .) I shall as a rule employ the name *Khasakura*, this being the name employed in British India by the people who speak it."¹⁹ It would appear that Grierson had not heard of Jang Bahadur's edict against the use of the term *Khas*. The name *Nepālī* however was not to remain unacceptable for much longer. Its use in *Gorkhābhāṣā vyākaraṇ*, at a time when official censorship was in force, represents at least an official *nilīl obiter*. In the 1920s R. L. Turner was writing his *Nepālī Dictionary* with the knowledge and support of the Maharaja of Nepal; and in the 30s approval was accorded to the changing of the style of the literary and censorship committees from *Gorkhābhāṣā Prākāśanī Samiti* to *Nepālībhāṣā Prākāśanī Samiti*.

3.4 Thus by the 1930s the word *Nepālī* had been accepted as the statutory designation of the national language, but it did not then, nor has it yet, become current in colloquial usage. Mother-tongue speakers of the language acknowledge the term but regard it as an educated neologism. In their own speech they still refer to the language as *Parbatiyā*. The Newars call it *Parbatiyā* or *Gorkhālī*. In the eastern provinces *Khasakura* is still heard. Usage in the Gurkha Brigade in Malaysia fluctuates between *Gorkhālī*, *Gorkhālī* and *Nepālī*. The Newars are still unhappy about the official change in nomenclature, though they are prepared to admit that *Khas* *bhāṣā* is the national language. They argue that Nepal is the historical name of the Valley of Kathmandu, and that, as the Newars are and always have been the majority tribe in the Valley, if the term is to be applied to any language it should be applied to their own. Consequently two very similar names for two quite different languages are current in Kathmandu, *Nepālībhāṣā* and *Nepālībhāṣā*, or even more confusing *Nepālī* and *Nepālī*.

4. HISTORY OF NEPALI AND PRAKRI

4.1 The history of Nepālī has yet to be written, but the researches of Tucci²⁰ have indicated where such a history must begin, and the editors of the Nepalese publi-

¹⁷ J. A. Ayton, *A grammar of the Nepalese language* (Calcutta, 1820).

¹⁸ A. Turnbull, *Nepālī grammar and vocabulary* (Darjeeling, 1867).

¹⁹ Tucci, *op. cit.* 1. 18.

²⁰ Tucci, *op. cit.* 1. 18.

cation *Jihās prakāś* have made much early language material available. According to Tucci, a people known as Khas entered north-west Nepal at the end of the 12th century, and founded a large empire which embraced the south-western region of Tibet and much of the north and west of Nepal. The last two kings of the Khas dynasty were Panyamalla and Pritivimalla, and it was during their reigns that Nepālī was first used as an epigraphic language. Among the inscriptional material Tucci discovered was a *kamākṣarī*, part of which is in Nepālī. Tucci dated it Śāke 1298 (AD 1376).²¹ Naraharīnāth, one of the editors of *Jihās prakāś*, who also photographed this inscription, gives the date as Śāke 1278 (AD 1356).²² This discrepancy has not yet been cleared up. For some time the *kamākṣarī* was regarded as the earliest document in Nepālī, but Bālkrṣṇa Pokharel brought to light a *śāntapātra* in the name of Panyamalla, which is dated AD 1337.²³ Naraharīnāth discovered a second *śāntapātra*, issued by Pritivimalla, and dated Śāke 1280 (AD 1358).

4.2 The Nepālī portions of these three *pātras* are reproduced by Bālkrṣṇa Pokharel in *Pāc śāy varṇa*, where they are edited with lexical, grammatical and historical notes, and accompanied by translations in modern Nepālī. The specification and conditions of the gifts mentioned, which are introduced by the phrase *rāko ādes* (order of the king), are in each case in a form of Nepālī. The remaining portions are in Sanskrit. These portions are not given by Pokharel, but may be found, in the case of the two later texts, in *Jihās prakāś*. The Nepālī vocabulary consists for the most part of proper names, land-measurement and legal terms; but the verbal and pronominal forms, and the nominal inflections, are numerous enough to identify the language as an old form of Nepālī, and to justify using the texts as a starting-off point for a historical study.

4.3 These texts mark the beginning of a fairly well represented epigraphic tradition. *Pāc śāy varṇa* contains over 60 inscriptions and documents composed during the period from Panyamalla (1337) to Pritivimalla's Śāh (1770). They belong either to the Khas Malla or the Gorkha dynasties, and may therefore be taken as being representative of western Nepālī.

4.4 Three 17th century Nepālī inscriptions have been found in Kathmandu: (a) a Śiva tablet in Maikhanol in Kathmandu city, dated 1641, and bearing the name of Jaya Lakṣmī Malla, then king of Kathmandu; (b) an inscription at Gubhyesvari in the name of Jaya Prāṣad Malla, son and successor of Jaya Lakṣmī; (c) three dedication stones all bearing the same text, and dated 1670, also in the name of Jaya Prāṣad. These stones were erected to commemorate the excavation of the Rānī Pokhri (Queen Lake) near the north-east corner of the old city of Kathmandu. Their text was annotated and translated by the present writer in an article 'The Rānī Pokhri inscrip-

²¹ Naraharīnāth, *Jihās prakāś* (Kathmandu, 1955).

²² Tucci, *op. cit.* 68, where Śāke 1289 should read Śāke 1298.

²³ *Jihās prakāś* 2. 1. 50.

²⁴ Bālkrṣṇa Pokharel, *Pāc śāy varṇa* 3-5 (Kathmandu, 1963).

tion, *Kāṭhmandu*:²³ No epigraphic or other material in old Nepali has, so far as is known to me, been found in eastern Nepal.

4.5 The pioneer work in Nepali historical studies which owes its initiation to the editors of *Itihāsa prakāśa*, Narahari Nath Pandit and Bāburām Acārya, has been continued with assiduity by Bālkrṣṇa Pokharel. *Pāc śay varṇa* contains most of the known material in Nepali from AD 1337 to the middle of the 19th century; and being provided with glossarial and other annotations it constitutes a standard source work. In two later publications, *Nepālī bhāṣā ra sāhitya* (1964) and *Rāṣṭra bhāṣā* (1965),²⁴ Pokharel reviews and analyses the language material and takes note of chronological and dialectal variations. In one chapter of *Nepālī bhāṣā ra sāhitya*, 'Nepālī bhāṣako kaitā', he divides Nepali into three chronological categories: Old Nepali (14th and 15th centuries); Medieval Nepali (15th century to 1900); Modern Nepali (after 1900); and into three regional dialects, Western, Central and Eastern. The same chapter contains an analysis of the phonology and morphology of the early material. Its usefulness, however, is impaired by its being based to a large extent on a traditional rather than an *ad hoc* system of classification. The linguistic data has been forced into pre-defined categories, some borrowed from Sanskrit grammarians and others from classical philology; and diachronic and comparative conclusions have been reached without the detailed synchronic examination which ought to have preceded them. Nepali historical studies have not attained definitive statement in Pokharel's work, but they have been considerably and commendably advanced.

4.6 From 1770, documentation in Nepali, both in manuscript and print, is plentiful, and when the government archives are open there should be more. The memoirs of Pṛthvīnāṭhyān Śāh have been published²⁵ and letters belonging to the reign of his grandson Rana Bahādūr Śāh, roughly the last quarter of the 18th century, are well represented in *Itihāsa prakāśa*. Much 19th century prose, epistolary and legal, is known to exist. This may have little literary value, but it could be of great interest to the student of language. In the 19th century too are the beginnings of Nepali poetry, including Bānu Bhāṭṭa's *Rāmāyana*, a poem of quality which would also reward linguistic examination.

4.7 Of the Pahari languages of Nepal, only two, Newari and Limbu, claim a literate tradition. The others have no script of their own, and there is no reason to believe that they ever had one. Even the claims on behalf of Limbu are tenuous. Two scholars, Imānsinha Cemjong and Prembahādūr Limbu,²⁶ have written short histories of the Limbu people, their literature and culture, in which mention is made of early compositions; but none of these are extant, except for a work called *Kirāt Mundhum*, which unfortunately is not dated. The text of *Kirāt Mundhum*, which has as

²³ T. W. Clark 'The Rana Pokhari Inscription, Kāṭhmandu', *BSOAS* vol. 20 (1957).

²⁴ Bānu Bhāṭṭa, *Nepālī bhāṣā ra sāhitya* (Kāṭhmandu, 1964); *Rāṣṭra bhāṣā* (Kāṭhmandu 1965).

²⁵ A number of editions have been printed in Nepal, usually under the title *Phyay L'adeti*.

²⁶ Imānsinha Cemjong, *Kirāt Itihāsa* (Gangtok, 1952); and Prembahādūr Limbu, *Saṅkṣipta Nepāl Itihāsa* (Nepal, 1952).

its sub-title *Kirāt ko Veda*, has been published in the devanagari script by Cemjong,²⁷ but no annotations literary, historical or linguistic, are supplied. This work, so far as I could tell from the Nepali translation which was published with it, consists of a creation story and a *varṇāvalī*. The only other Limbu materials, and those are probably of no great antiquity, are the papers collected by Cemjong and deposited in the India Office Library, and a few papers found by Cemjong and other scholars. Cemjong's documents are referred to briefly in the introduction to *Kirāt Mundhum*. In view of this extreme paucity of authentic texts a historical study of Limbu is not feasible.

4.8 There is no historical study of Newari, but this is not due to shortage of textual material. There is indeed very much of it, epigraphic and manuscript, covering the period from the 14th to the 18th century. Kirkpatrick, Hamilton and Hodgson were the first scholars to comment on Newari literature and language. They were followed by Conrady, Jorgensen and Lévi; and later by Petch, Shafer and others. In our own day European and American scholars are working on Newari, and it is hoped that in due time their work will be brought to publication. Hodgson and Conrady pointed out the affinities of Newari, Tibetan and the 'Indo-Chinese' languages. 'Hodgson en a démontré', wrote Lévi, 'la parenté avec le tibétain, mais sans pousser les recherches à fond; derrière lui M. Conrady seul les a reprises, et avec succès. Il a publié une excellente étude sur la grammaire névarie et édité un petit vocabulaire sanscrit-névari rapporté jadis par Minayeffi. M. Conrady s'est surtout appliqué à mettre en relief les rapports du névari avec l'ensemble des langues dites "indo-chinoises": chinois, tibétain, siamois, dialectes himalayens.' Lévi in the same chapter made an important statement on Newari, which combines a tribute to the advanced condition of Newari letters with a survey of the textual material available: 'Le névari de la belle époque réalise un équilibre harmonieux entre les parlers himalayens restés au stade primitif en raison de leur isolement, encore pauvres, grossiers, impuissants à traduire les pensées élevées et les notions abstraites, et les dialectes entièrement hindouisés à force d'emprunter aux langues aryennes de la plaine. Le névari a développé son lexique par un travail interne, et s'il a dû emprunter aux langues neo-sanscrites, il a su assimiler ces emprunts et en tirer des forces nouvelles à son service. Il subsiste encore un assez grand nombre de commentaires sur les textes sanscrits bouddhiques ou même de traductions en névari. A partir de la restauration Malla (XIV^e siècle), le névari s'introduit dans l'épigraphie et prend rapidement aux dépens du sanscrit une extension croissante.' The 'belle époque' however came to an end in 1768. 'La conquête gourkha, en renversant les dynasties névares, a décrié la déchéance du névari. De génération en génération, la langue névarie recule et perd du terrain au profit du parbatia, le parler des vainqueurs.' The two sources of Newari material Lévi has drawn attention to are (a) epigraphic remains, and (b) commentaries on, and translations from, Sanskrit-Buddhist texts.

²⁷ Imānsinha Cemjong, *Kirāt Mundhum (Kirāt ko Veda)* (Campāran, Bihar undated).

²⁸ S. Lévi, *Le Népal 1.251-2* and fn. (Paris, 1905).

4.9 Petech's researches have brought to light a number of old texts unknown to Lévi, and, very important for the linguist as well as for the historian, he has been able to date them. In his review of the reign of Jayasthira Malla (1428-1480), he comments that 'the national language (i.e. Newari) was fostered and cherished', and this long reign marks the triumphant entrance of Newari in the field of Nepalese epigraphy, where Sanskrit had been till then dominant. Henceforward the inscriptions were mostly couched in Newari, except for the formal portions containing the praise to the Gods and the titles of the ruling king.²¹ This was not, however, the beginning of Newari epigraphy: '.....the rich epigraphy of the Mallas....practically starts with Jayasthira Malla at the end of the 14th century and grows larger with the passing of time, till the end of the dynasty in 1768/9. The language is at first Sanskrit only, but the technical portions (land measurements etc.) tend more and more to be written in Newari. The script is old Newari, and very early documents, mostly grants, on copper-plates (*śārngavratā*) join the stone inscriptions. For the 17th and 18th centuries the abundance of epigraphic material is simply bewildering. The three great cities of Nepal teem with inscriptions on stone or copper. Between the early (Licchavi) group and the later (Malla) inscriptions there is a large and as yet unexplained gap. This is, however, not so void of epigraphic material, as it was believed to be in the times of Lévi. We have the inscription of Rudradeva and Bhopadeva of NS 132 (AD 912), that of Banadeva of NS 203 (1083), that of Manadeva of NS 259 (1139), that of Abhayamalla of 365 (1245), and the inscription of Jayajunadeva of 492 (1272), which really upsets the great Malla epigraphy.'²² The Newari commentaries, referred to by Lévi, are not reviewed by Petech, but he draws attention to another source of old Newari: the *varṇāśīl* of Bhandā, which Petech divides into three sections: V1, V2 and V3. At the end of V1, with the first years of Jayasthira Malla (1382-95) the language changes into old Newari. The language of V2 is 'old Newari mixed with Sanskrit'. V3 is written in old Newari, but the language 'is practically incomprehensible nowadays.....'. The ms. presents a historical and philological interest of the first magnitude, and its edition and translation is at present the foremost desideratum in the field of Nepalese history and possibly also of Newari linguistic studies.²³ Yet in spite of this abundance of material, 'le névāri est encore très peu et très mal connu'.²⁴

5. LEXICOGRAPHY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

5.1 Nepali and Pahari lexicography can be said to have begun with the word-lists of Kirtipurī and Hodge.²⁵ Turnbull's grammar was accompanied by a fairly large vocabulary, but it was Sir R. L. Turner with his monumental *Nepali dictionary* who

²¹ L. Petech, *Nepal: a History of Nepal c. 750-1450* 168 (Serie Orientale Roma, 1958).

²² Ibid. 1011.

²³ Ibid. 25.

²⁴ Ibid. 2.

²⁵ Lévi, *op. cit.* 1251.

²⁶ Kirtipurī, *op. cit.* 221-22.

²⁷ Hodge, *op. cit.* 25, 177, p. 28, pp. 7, 82.

erected the supreme landmark in Nepali lexicography. The *Nepali dictionary* is primarily a Nepali-English lexicon. The Nepali words, printed in devanagari and roman, are accompanied by their equivalents in English and illustrated by citations from idiomatic usage. Turner's work is however more than this: it is also a comparative etymological and philological dictionary. Each Nepali entry is documented with a list of linguistically related words in other Indo-Aryan languages; and in the index there is a series of lists in which Nepali words are set side by side with related words in over 50 other languages. In the introduction, under the heading Orthography, Turner examines certain spelling problems which have arisen as a result of conflicts between the traditional implications of the devanagari script as inherited from Sanskrit and the linguistic idiosyncracies of modern Nepali. Two suggestions he advances are worthy of more attention than they have yet received: (a) the consistent employment of the sign *vīṇā*, or *hānā* as it is more commonly called in Nepal, to distinguish those consonants in which a vowel is inherent from those in which it is not; and (b) the elimination of the troublesome distinction between *ī* and *i*, *ū* and *u*, on the grounds that, as there is in neither case a phonemic distinction of long and short, their preservation in the script is anachronistic. Turner has embodied these proposed reforms in his dictionary entries, but though both problems are still under debate in Nepal his suggestions have not yet commanded themselves to native lexicographers.

5.2 Teachers in the Gurkha Brigade have made their contributions to lexicon building. The grammars of Rogers and McCrendonk²⁶ are both supplied with Nepali-English and English-Nepali vocabularies; the Nepali words being printed in a form of roman. McCrendonk's spelling is in the main based on Nepali orthography; but Rogers' is of his own devising, being neither entirely phonemic nor orthographic. The Japanese scholar Terue Nakamura has published a Nepali-Japanese dictionary, *Suruko Nepali-Japani kōzō*.²⁷ It contains 5,754 words, which are entered in a phonemic transcription. A Nepali-Russian dictionary is under preparation by N. I. Korolev of Moscow University.

5.3 The first Nepalese scholar to enter the field of lexicography was Cakrapāṇi Cālise, who published two small *kōṣ*. Copies are now unobtainable. In 1951, Rāmchandra Dhunghana, working under the auspices of the Nepali Bhāṣā Prakāśinī Samiti, published a useful monolingual dictionary, of 724 pages, *Saṅkīrṇa Nepali Kōṣ*.²⁸ The orthography, in which an attempt was made in the direction of a standardised spelling, was guided by the preferences of the grammarian and lexicographer Puṣkar Saṁsār Jang Bahadur Rāṇā, whose practice was in its turn influenced by the system of spelling formulated by Hemrāj Panthi in his grammar *Candrikā*. Dhunghana does not discuss spelling problems, but the fairly high level of consistency in his preferred spellings suggest that he had a predetermined system. He retains both *ī* and *i*, *ū* and *u*.

²⁶ G. G. Rogers, *Colloquial Nepali* (Calcutta, 1950), and M. McCrendonk, *Basic Gurkhal grammar and vocabulary* (Singapore undated).

²⁷ Terue Nakamura, *Suruko Nepali-Japani kōzō* (Toei University, Nara, Japan, 1965).

²⁸ Rāmchandra Dhunghana, *Saṅkīrṇa Nepali Kōṣ*, Nepali Bhāṣā Prakāśinī Samiti (Kathmandu, 1951).

fl. in general accord with a short set of rules devised by Puskar Samser.⁴¹ In some cases in which spelling practice fluctuates between *j* and *ḷ* in final positions, he records both: e.g. *ṛiḥi* (ḷ), *ḍiḥi* (ḷ). In recording nouns the pronunciation of which fluctuates between final -ā (*ākārāṇa*) and final -o (*ōkārāṇa*), he is not always consistent. In some instances he enters both spellings, e.g. *kurā* and *kuro* (speech); but in others only one, e.g. *choro* (son), though the *ākārāṇa* form *chorā* is frequently heard, perhaps more frequently than *choro*. In one particular Dhungānā is conservative: he retains the homorganic nasal consonant *ṃ* in *ṭadbhava* words such as *māñche* and *bhāñchā*, in accordance with Sanskrit orthographic practice, though Nepali spelling custom has for some time been tending towards *māñcie* and *bhāñchā*. Verbal forms like *hur-cha*, *ḍincha*, etc., which pose the same problem, are not entered in the dictionary, so it is not possible to discover how he would have treated them. *Saṅkṣipta Nepālī koś* is reasonably comprehensive as regards the vocabulary of written Nepali, but less so as regards the spoken language; and as the book was written before the modernisation of Nepalese political, economic and administrative practice, it does not contain the many neologisms, mostly borrowed or adapted from Sanskrit, which have been introduced to meet the vocabulary requirements which changing circumstances have forced upon Nepal as a developing country.

5.4 In 1962, the recently formed Royal Nepal Academy published a monolingual dictionary, *Nepālī śabdā-koś*, under the general editorship of Bāleandra Śarmā.⁴² Word meanings are given by means of synonyms and short descriptive phrases, but without context citations. The entries include word origins, parts of speech, and sometimes structural analysis. Being a larger (1146 pages) and more recently compiled dictionary than *Saṅkṣipta Nepālī koś*, the *Nepālī śabdā-koś* has been able to include many of the modern vocabulary elements which are missing from the earlier work. In the introduction, Śarmā examines some of the problems of spelling, selection, etc., which had to be solved before work could begin. There is a brief reference to the principles he formulated to govern the inclusion and exclusion of words. Legal (*litant*) and governmental (*sarkari*) terms have been included only to the extent that they were established in ordinary usage. By inference this principle excludes specialist technical terms. Proverbs and popular sayings, though they are numerous, have been omitted because of space restrictions. No attempt has been made to standardize spelling by choosing between orthographic variants. Rather, variation of spelling has been accepted as a fact of Nepali practice, and common variants are included as different, though related, entries: e.g. *kepi*, *koti*, *soti*, and *gobhi*; *sāji* and *vāji*; *ḍiḡ* and *ḍhon*. The permitted alternatives *kig*, *ḥibhi*, *jiji* raise phonological problems of voice and aspiration; and if *ḍiḡ* and *ḍhon* are no more than variant spellings of one word, what is the phonemic structure of that word?⁴³ The problem of *ekārāṇa*/

⁴¹ Puskar Samser, Jang Bahadur Rānā, *Nepālī Sajhā prakāśan* 106-7, Nāgari Bhāṣā Prakāśini Samiti (Kathmandu, 1949).

⁴² Bāleandra Śarmā, *Nepālī śabdā-koś* (Royal Nepal Academy, 1962).

⁴³ *Ibid.* Intro. 10.

ākārāṇa words, referred to above⁴⁴ has been left unsolved. The editor's comment is short and far from clear. 'Nepālī *ākārāṇa* nominals become *ōkārāṇa*, singular or pejorative. They have been entered as *ōkārāṇa*, or *ākārāṇa*, or both, as seems appropriate (*amukulāṇa harī*).'⁴⁵ The factors which determine what is appropriate are not mentioned. Thus, as in *Saṅkṣipta Nepālī koś*, *kurā* and *kuro* have separate entries, but *choro* has no related *chorā* entry. Admittedly the grammarians are at variance on this point; but the fact remains that if *ōkārāṇa* words have, as Śarmā states, a pejorative potentiality, which by inference is absent in *ākārāṇa* words, a dictionary should note the difference. It is not difficult to imagine situations in which it might be important.

5.5 The orthographic representation of nasality symbols, both characters and modifiers, has received the following treatment in the introduction to *Nepālī Śabdā-koś*.

- (a) *Tatsama* words. In conjunct consonants, when the second member is a plosive, the homorganic nasal consonant character is used. The sign *anusvāra* is not used in these cases. The *anusvāra* is used however before *ḡ*, *ḥ*, *ḥ*, *ḥ*.
- (b) *Tadbhava* words. Nasal consonant characters are used 'according to pronunciation': e.g. *māñche*, *jāñjā*, *sañjijāṇu*, *sañcār*.
- (c) *Foreign loan* words. Nasal consonant characters are used 'according to pronunciation': e.g. *pañjī*, *supariñjēñī*.
- (d) *Anunāṣikā* (*candrabindu*) is used as a mark of vowel nasality.
- (e) *Anunāṣikā* is used in words like *sāga*, *rāga*, as a variant for *sañga*, *rañga*.

(This is a curious provision. It is not clear whether this use of *anunāṣikā* represents merely a permitted orthographic variation, or whether it symbolises a phonemic difference.)⁴⁶

5.6 In one particular Śarmā departs from established practice. He introduces a sub-

scribed dot to distinguish *ḡ* and *ḡ*: *ḡ* and *ḡ*.⁴⁷ Dhungānā uses only the undotted

forms. It is true that there is a phonemic difference between the two members of each

pair, the former being a plosive, the latter a flapped consonant; but as the plosive and

flapped phonemes are in complementary positional distribution, one character can be

used for both, as hitherto, without ambiguity. The dotted characters are in regular use

in some Indian languages, and there seems little doubt that they are the source of this

apparently unnecessary innovation.

5.7 A noteworthy English-Nepali dictionary is the two-volume *Angreji-Nepālī koś*,

produced in 1936 under the general editorship of Puskar Samser.⁴⁸ This remarkable

tour-de-force is a meticulous word-by-word rendering into Nepali of *The concise*

⁴⁴ v. 2, § 5.3.

⁴⁵ Bāleandra Śarmā, op. cit. 11.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 11.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 11.

⁴⁸ Puskar Samser, Jang Bahadur Rānā, *Angreji-Nepālī koś*, Nepālī Bhāṣā Prakāśini Samiti (Kathmandu, 1936).

Oxford dictionary.⁴⁹ Not a single word seems to have been omitted. On the first page, for example, even such expressions as *card-yari*, *Aaron's beard* and *Aaron's rod* are retained. The purpose of the work is clear: to supply the Nepalese student with all the lexicographical information he is likely to require in his reading of English, at any rate to the same extent as the original meets that need for an English student. The English words and citations are printed in English, and the Nepali word glosses and citation translations in devanagari. The stress markings and grammatical analyses are retained; and the pronunciation is reproduced in devanagari. In writing the pronunciation notes, the editors consulted Daniel Jones's *English pronouncing dictionary* also, and in consequence there are a few alternative pronunciations not found in the Oxford dictionary. The introduction contains instructions on the articulation of English sounds. The language of these instructions is Nepali, translated or adapted from English sources, and the phonetic symbols used are from the devanagari syllabary. So far as I am aware, this is the first and only attempt to teach the pronunciation of English to Nepali students through the medium of the Nepali language in the devanagari script.

5.8 A small English-Nepali dictionary was published in 1951 by two Darjeeling scholars, P. M. Pradhan and N. M. Pradhan.⁵⁰ Against each English word is a list of Nepali words of approximately similar meaning. The work has usefulness, but as no context citations are given, it is often difficult in a particular case to determine which of the synonyms listed is appropriate.

5.9 There are two dictionaries in Pahari languages: one in Newari, *Sankhijñā Nepālī bhāṣā śabdā-koṣ*, by Vaidya Panaprasād Joshi,⁵¹ the other in Limbu, *Limbu-Nepālī-ā-greṣi śabdā-koṣ*, by Imānsintha Cemjong.⁵² The Newari dictionary is bilingual, Newari-Nepali, or as the author has it *Nepālī-Nepālī*. It is a short dictionary, and its usefulness is impaired by the omission of many common words. It is a frustrating experience for the foreign student of the language not to be able to find the words he needs for reading a simple literary text. Sanskritisms are much better represented. Another error in planning is revealed by the fact that shortly after publication a corrective supplement had to be issued to remove a large number of archaic spellings which had been at first included.⁵³ In an introductory note to the supplement the author states that in the dictionary he had included *manik śabdā* (early forms), which he now wished to replace by *biṛṣi* (modern forms). He appends a short list by way of illustration.

<i>biṛṣi</i>	<i>śabdā</i>
ākha:	ākhal
kū	kui
dhau	dhali

⁴⁹ *The complete Oxford dictionary*, adapted by H. W. and F. G. Fowler, (Oxford, 1936).

⁵⁰ P. M. and N. M. Pradhan, *Students' pocket dictionary, English-Nepali* (Darjeeling, 1951).

⁵¹ Vaidya Panaprasād Joshi, *Sankhijñā Nepālī bhāṣā śabdā-koṣ* (Kathmandu, 1950).

⁵² Imānsintha Cemjong, *Limbu-Nepālī-ā-greṣi śabdā-koṣ* (Koyal Nepal Academy, 1962).

⁵³ Vaidya Panaprasād Joshi, *Sankhijñā Nepālī bhāṣā śabdā-koṣ* (Kathmandu, 1956).

मि	मि
सि	सि
कय	कय
प्लय	प्लय

Note. In my transcription of the original devanagari, the symbol (:) represents the Sanskrit sign *anagrāha*, which is used in the Newari orthography, and the underlining represents the *vidim* sign.

My Newari teachers informed me that the new spellings denoted an earlier 'sound change', but he could not tell me when it took place. The *śabdā* forms are now obsolete. The *anagrāha* (:) indicates a lengthened vowel: i.e. that -ā: and -ē: are of longer duration respectively than -a and -e. The phonological implications of the new spelling are not, however, always clear. For instance are these three words, which appear in both the dictionary and the supplement, phonemically distinguishable: *khai* = *khāi*; *khai* = *khāi*? Are *khā*- and *khac*-, *po*- and *pi*- in the word *khola* = *khola* and *polasi* = *polasi* different orthographic representations of the same phonemes? My own listening to Newari speech suggests that the answer to the second question is in the affirmative.

5.10 Imānsintha Cemjong's dictionary is trilingual: Limbu, Nepali and English. The head-words are Limbu, in the devanagari script, with Nepali and English equivalents in parallel columns. Each Limbu word is parsed within a system of 13 categories: *ākarnak kriyā* 'transitive verb', *anyā* 'invariable', *upasarā* 'postposition', *kriyā* 'verb', *kriyā-yogī* 'verbal adjunct', *nām* 'noun', *nām-yogī* 'nominal adjunct', *viśeṣaṇ* 'adjective', *viśaṇ* *vidi-bodhik* 'interjection', *āhiyogik* 'conjunction', *sakarnak kriyā* 'transitive verb', *sambodhan* 'vocative', *sarvām* 'pronoun'. Without citations it is impossible to tell how far such a classification is valid for Limbu. The introduction gives no description of the source of the words included. As there are no known books in Limbu, it would be reasonable to presume that the words were collected from the speech of Limbus, but the 'learned' quality of many of the entries makes me doubt whether such a presumption would be correct.

5.11. In addition to dictionaries there are several word and phrase books designed for the beginner. Three may be mentioned: Dilli Bahadur Shrestha's *Nepālī beginner's word book*, which has Nepali, Hindi, English and Newari words in parallel columns; Sugandis Tuladhar's *Nepālī bhāṣā śabdā-samgraha*, which has Newari, English, Hindi and Nepali in parallel columns; and Agam Simga Devasa Rai's *Āśācchī śikṣā*, a Nepali-Thulung Rai word list.⁵⁴ The first two are useful because they order their word lists according to contexts of situation. The third is the only known work on Thulung Rai, a language which is not included in the census detail of languages. It is presumably one of the languages grouped under *Kirāi-Rāi*.

⁵⁴ Thakurāl Mānandār, who worked with me in Nepal and London.

⁵⁵ Cemjong, *op. cit.* Intro. 62.

⁵⁶ Dilli Bahadur Shrestha, *Nepālī beginner's word book (Anglo-Nepālī)* (Kathmandu, 1953); Sugandis Tuladhar, *Nepālī bhāṣā śabdā-samgraha* (Bannara, 1949); Agam Simga Devasa Rai, *Āśācchī śikṣā* (Thulung Rai bhāṣā), (Darjeeling, 1944).

6. SCRIPTS

6.1 It is unfortunate that Gnoli's excellent work on the *gupta* script⁵⁷ has not been matched by comparable works on the other scripts of Nepal. Some photographs of early inscriptions are published in *Itihās prakāśi*, but they are not clear enough to be legible. The scripts known to have been used in Nepal in addition to *gupta*, Tibetan and Lepcha, are devanagari, a Newari script or scripts, and an eastern script supposed to be Limbu. The medieval Khas inscriptions, both the Sanskrit and Nepali portions, are in devanagari which have continued in use for Nepali in epigraphy and manuscript, and later in printed books, until today. The Newari character was used in epigraph by from the 14th century or earlier; and many of the Sanskrit manuscripts held in Nepalese libraries are in Newari, as are the 17th and 18th century Bengali plays which emanated, as far as is known, from the court of Bhaktagon.⁵⁸ Devanagari, however, was used once or twice for Newari inscriptions from the 17th century, and -after the Gurkha invasion of the Valley in 1768, it began to displace the Newari script for all purposes. The Newari script today is obsolete, and an attempt to resuscitate it has proved unsuccessful.

6.2 The *Handbook of Asian scripts*, published in connection with an exhibition of Asian scripts held at the British Museum in 1966 contains the following brief survey of Nepalese scripts:⁵⁹ 'While the oldest manuscripts preserved in Nepal are in *Kutila*, the appearance of the thick, flat-topped scripts, deriving from the Buddhist centres of the Pagan Kingdom of Bengal and Bihar, dates from the tenth century, a period when Newari was prevalent in Eastern India. This script, sometimes called Ancient Northern Character, was minimized in Nepal in ornamental forms for some centuries and one of its variants (*Rajja*) is also found in Tibet. Another script used in Nepal during the Middle Ages is a hooked type (*Varula* or *Bharjūn Mola*) which recalls the Oriya Character and certainly has Bengali affinities. By the seventeenth century the prevailing script was a flat-topped one called *Newari* or *Nepālī* character. The Gurkha conquest in the eighteenth century resulted in a spreading use of Nagari and the current Indian type is now the official script of the Nepalese kingdom.⁶⁰ According to this statement it appears that there were two Newari scripts in use in medieval Nepal, a 'thick flat-topped' type with some variants of which 'rajja' is one, and a 'hooked' type. A small book by Hemraj Sanyal⁶¹ sets out no fewer than nine different types of Newari: *reṅgāṇḍīpī*, *ṭhāṇḍīpī*, *kāṇḍīpī*, *krāṇḍīpī*, *poṇḍīpī*, *hūṇḍīpī*, *hūṇḍīpī*, and a ninth described as *maṇḍīpī*, which means 'current today'.⁶² All these scripts except the last were used, we are told, on *ṭāṭṭāra*, *ulṭāra*, *śaṇḍāpāra*, *śūṇḍāpāra*, *ṭāṇḍāpāra*.

⁵⁷ R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters*, Part I, Text and Plate, Part II Translation (Gera Orientalia Roma, 1966).

⁵⁸ For this information I am indebted to my colleague Dr. T. Mukherji, who is making a study of these plays.

⁵⁹ R. P. H. Ling and G. M. Meddell-Jones, *A handbook of Asian scripts* (British Museum, 1966).

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 30.

⁶¹ Hemraj Sanyal, *Nepālī lipi samgraha* (Kathmandu, 1955).

tra, etc. in 'ancient times'.⁶³ Complete syllabaries in all nine types are reproduced in this book, but the block-printing is not always clear, certain impressions being faint and others over-inked. Hemraj's *rañjanīlipi*, which is certainly 'flat-topped', can probably be equated with the British Museum's *reṅṭī*, and his *bhāṇḍīpī*, which is 'hooked' with the *varula* or *bharjūn mola*. The problem is to determine how many scripts there are. My own view is that there is only one, the *rañjanīlipi*, and seven calligraphic variants of it. The ninth type, *ṭhāṇḍīpī*, is a modern simplified adaptation based on the others. The characters in the eight types appear to resemble one another as regards basic shape and to differ only in decorative detail. The decorative variations do not, it seems to me, go beyond what could be expected to evolve in different schools of calligraphy. Some prefer rounded, other angular shapes. Some have elaborate strokes above the head-line, others have a minimum of strokes above the line. Further support for this hypothesis may be found in Hemraj's nomenclature, which I feel to be significant. One type, the *rañjanīlipi*, he calls *lipi*, i.e. script; the others he calls *mola*, modern *mo*: (lit. head).

6.3 There can be little doubt that the Newari script, or scripts, derive from devanagari. Resemblances between the essential shapes of corresponding characters is not difficult to discern, and indeed it might be more obvious if the devanagari scripts of northern India during the medieval period were better known. The phonological categories of devanagari are preserved in the Newari syllabary. The *rañjanīlipi*, as set out by Hemraj, even includes in its vowel system the vowels *ṭi*, *ṭi*, and *ṭi*, though there are no known words in Newari in which they occur.

6.4 Hamilton, Campbell and Hodgson were the first to call attention to the existence of a Limbu, known also as Kira(n)li, script. They collected a small number of texts. Hodgson deposited 14 books in the India Office Library. Campbell acquired one and presented it to the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Hamilton was cautious. 'The Kiratis are said', he wrote, 'to have a written character peculiar to themselves; but Agam Singh, their chief, is not a penman, and the people with him, born in exile, have contented themselves with acquiring the Nagri character.' Hamilton deposited 'a full vocabulary of the Kirata language in the company's library'. Camjong claims to have other Limbu books in his possession, including a manuscript reader which he came across in 1956. More recently, R. K. Sprig found five books in Sikkim and presented them to the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Of the origin and history of the script nothing more is known than the fables culled by Camjong and Prembahadur Limbu⁶⁴ from local folk-lore and a Kirati *vanīśāvali*. According to the *vanīśāvali*, the goddess Sarasvatī appeared to a 9th century Kirati king named Sirijanga, and in response to his prayer to be given wisdom to devise a script, she took him into a cave and showed him a number of stone tablets on which was inscribed the story of the creation. This early script, traditionally known as the *Sirijanga*, consisted

⁶³ Ibid. v. Intro.

⁶⁴ Francis Hamilton (Bucharan), *op. cit.* 54.

⁶⁵ v. s. fn. 28-9.

of 20 characters, to which according to Cemjong 11 others were added later. The *Sirjanga* script was then lost; but, so the story goes, it re-appeared from time to time only to be submerged again by Tibetan, Kaite or Lepcha. There is a later story, which may not be without truth, that in 1788 Ranabhadur Śāh, the Gorkha king of Nepal, prohibited the use of the Limbu script, whereupon its protagonist, also named Sirjanga, fled to Sikkim, where he was murdered. The script then apparently was submerged once more, to be rediscovered by Cemjong in the present century. Sprigg summarises the scanty historical evidence in his article 'Limbu books in the Kiranti script'.⁴⁵ The original devising of the script is variously ascribed by tradition to a Limbu king, Marang Rajah, and to the Limbu hero, Sirjanga. . . . On the basis of the account given in the *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, the view is put forward that the Limbus' script originated during the 18th century in Sikkim, and it is possible that Sirjanga, also referred to as the 'Dorze Lama of Yangrup', was a Buddhist. It is also to the third Maharajah of Sikkim, Chador Namgyal (circa 1700-17), that the devising of the somewhat similar Lepcha script is traditionally ascribed.⁴⁶ According to Sprigg, Sirjanga's death may have occurred between 1775 and 1778, which roughly coincides with the alleged date of Ranabhadur Śāh's ban. In the same article Sprigg comments briefly on the script itself. 'A comparison of the Kiranti with the Devanagari, Tibetan and Lepcha scripts establishes that the Kiranti is the same in principle as they in that it makes use of the vowel signs as modifiers, and of zero, the absence of a written sign, as itself a vowel sign. There are respects in which the Kiranti script resembles any one of these three scripts more than the other two; but in general the resemblance seems closest to a Tibetan cursive, "khyugyig", and Lepcha. In particular the Kiranti script shares with these two the feature of having a special series of letters for syllable-final consonants.' The only published samples of the Limbu script are to be found in the introduction to Cemjong's dictionary.

7. GRAMMAR AND GRAMMARS

7.1 Six works on Nepali grammar have been published since 1949: by Puṣkar Śaṁśer and Somnāth Śarmā, in Nepali; by Rogers, Mercendok, and the present writer, in English; and by Korolev, in Russian.⁴⁷ Those by Somnāth Śarmā and Korolev are descriptive grammars, the others are language courses; but all are primarily addressed to the student of the language. The two Nepalese scholars wrote for the instruction of Nepali-speaking children, and their works are therefore not suitable for foreign students at the beginning of their course. It is conceivable, however, that linguists who know some Nepali might find the indigenous analytical methodology of some interest.

Rogers and Mercendok who wrote for British officers in the Gurkha Brigade worked as R. K. Sprigg, 'Limbu books in the Kiranti script', *Asian and African Languages and Literatures* (London: *Orientalist*, 1957), 590-2. Devenice Morgan, *Selected Grammatical Notes* (Weybridge, 1959).
⁴⁶ Puṣkar Śaṁśer, *op. cit.* (in 48); Somnāth Śarmā *Madhyama-kāṇḍa* (Nepali *Madhyama-kāṇḍa* vyākhyāna) (Kathmandu, 1952); Rogers and Mercendok (v. 2, pp. 28). T. W. Clark, *Introduction to Nepali* (Cambridge, 1963). N. I. Korolev, *Yazyk Nepali* (Moscow, 1965).

with the aid of regimental personnel, many of whom spoke Nepali as a second language. Mercendok was able to check his material against Kathmandu usage. Rogers on the other hand regarded it as his function to teach his students the language spoken by their men; and this involved the retention of dialect forms, as for instance in his analysis of the verb, which according to his informants makes no morphological distinction of number. There are indications in Korolev's book that he was assisted by an informant whose speech had come under the influence of an Indian language, possibly Hindi, *dh*, *ir*, etc., for example are Tara forms; the Kathmandu and Hill equivalents being *aba*, *ira*, etc. Some of his vocabulary elements are loan words current only where Indian influence is at work: e.g. *dhokā* 'shop'. The Nepali equivalent is *pasal*. My own informant was Puṣkar Śaṁśer, a native of Kathmandu; and at a later stage I was able to check my material against the speech forms of two other Chetris, also natives of Kathmandu. The dialect problem is unavoidable; and foreign students, whether they are language students or linguists, will have to choose one single dialect on which to base their work. I chose the Kathmandu dialect for reasons which are expressed in the introduction to my book. There is a form of Nepali speech which can be called the Kathmandu dialect. It is spoken as their mother tongue by many families who for generations have known no other domicile. It is the language of the schools and the Trichandra College, and consequently of educated speech in the Valley. It is broadcast by Nepal Radio more frequently than any other dialect. It is true that many of its forms and much of its usage have not yet been standardised, and that it is being continuously exposed to the influence of other dialects and also to that of Hindi, with which it has recently been brought into close contact; but because of its prestige as the language of educated people and because its use is being consolidated by being taught in the schools, it seems probable that when a received standard Nepali emerges it will be found to be essentially the speech of Kathmandu rather than that of the districts beyond the perimeter of the Valley. I still hold this view.

7.2 In the short space which can be devoted to Nepali grammar as such, I propose to list and comment briefly on a few of the phonological, morphological and grammatical features of the language, which demanded attention while I was working on *Introduction to Nepali*, referring to the other works as and when necessary, in the hope of establishing thereby certain starting points for future studies.

7.3 Orthography and Phonology

(a) The vowel *a*. Mercendok says that this vowel is pronounced like the "a" in *balloon*. Rogers disagrees, and states that it is pronounced like the *ir* in the English word *bird*, a dubious description even allowing for the vagaries of dialect. I found it necessary to set up three phonemes: [a] as in *śab* (all); [i] as in *chiz* (is); [ɛ] as in *tyako* (this). A more detailed analysis, phonetic and phonological, is required, particularly if length prosodies and junction features are taken into account, as they should be. Korolev was aware of this necessity, for, as he says, 'i, a, u in closed

syllables can be defined only in syntagms'.⁶⁷ I suspect however that when the problem of 'definition' is undertaken, it will be found not to be confined to closed syllables only.

(b) The vowels *i*, *ī*; *u*, *ū*. Somañth erroneously affirms that there is a short-long differentiation between the members of these two pairs. It does not, except in the orthography. There is, for example, no phonemic difference between *din* 'day' and *dān* 'poor', or between *mit* 'he' and *mīt* 'woollen'. The retention of these short-long correlates in the orthography is, as has been stated above, an anachronism resulting from the adoption of the devanagari script without modification to suit the phonetic peculiarities of the Nepali language. In spelling aloud it is necessary to say 'd - *hara* *kār* - n: d - *di* *gha* *kār* - n (d - short i - n: d - long ī - n); otherwise, without help from the context, it would not be possible to know which word was intended. Turner's suggestion that the short orthographs be adopted has not been accepted. The last word so far on this subject is Bācandra Śarmā's statement that spelling variation is a natural linguistic phenomenon (*svābhāvik ho*); and he cites as confirmation *civilization, colour, color*.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, variation in length does occur in the pronunciation of the vowels *ī* and *ū*; but it does not correlate with the orthography. It is determined by other factors, syntagmatic and prosodic.

(c) The vowel *ay*. In some Nepali words this vowel is pronounced as a diphthong [əy]; but in many other it is pronounced [e]: e.g. *mayle* 'I' (*mayle*), as against *chay* 'many' (*chayle*). *Jādaya* 'does not go' [*jādey*]. According to my own observation the [e] pronunciation is more frequent than the other.

(d) Palatalisation of vowels. Korelev states that there is no palatalisation of vowels in Nepali, and he cites three examples: *garē* 'they did', *mero* 'my', *okhail* 'medicine'. This may be true of the speech of his informant, but it is not true in a number of cases for Kāthmandu speech. In *mero* there is no palatalisation, but there is a strong palatal or-glide in *era* 'white', *shibhu* 'Siva', and *ek* 'one': [s'etə] [s'imbhu] [ek]. In words like *yaśo* 'such', *yit* 're', etc., the *y* is the orthographic symbol of a palatal on-glide: [s'etə], [Pin]. The glide is weaker before [i] than before [e].

(e) Nasalisation. Korelev states correctly that nasalisation of vowels in Nepali has phonemic and grammatical function.⁶⁹ Occurrences of grammatical function are indicated in the orthography by the modifier *canārahindu*: *garē* 'I did', *garē* 'they did'; *garē* 'I do', *garē* 'you do'; *jinnā* 'I do not go', *jinnā* 'he does not go'. In the spoken language, however, this nasal/non-nasal dichotomy is not so regularly discernible. It can be observed by the proximity of a nasal consonant. Thus the difference between *garē* and *garē* is clearly audible; but it is difficult, in rapid speech, at any rate, to detect any difference between *jinnā* and *jinnā*, because the final

⁶⁷ Korelev, op. cit. 13. For help with the Russian text I am indebted to my colleague Mrs. N. Watters.

⁶⁸ Bācandra Śarmā, op. cit., Intro. 10.

⁶⁹ Korelev, op. cit. 12.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 15.

-n in *jinnā* is nasalised by contact with the preceding n. Phonemes which consist of a nasal consonant plus vowel present an inconsistent picture: e.g. *ma* 'I' [mɔ]; *malai* 'me' (*malā*). The quality of a vowel in contact with a following nasal consonant is obscure and needs close investigation. Another problem of nasality is observable in comparable verbal forms, *āucha* 'he comes', and *kāucha* 'he eats'. In the former the -ū is markedly nasalised, and there is no nasal consonant glide in the junction -ūch-. In the latter there is a nasal consonant glide between the -ā- and -ch-, but the vowel is not nasalised.

(f) The *ṭ*-varga. The consonants *ṭ* and *ṭh* are to my ear plosives with alveolar or slightly post-alveolar articulation, but without retroflexion. The articulation of *ṭ* and *ṭh* varies according to position. In initial positions *ṭ* is an alveolar or post-alveolar plosive without retroflexion, but post-vocally it is a retroflexed flap: e.g. *dar* 'fear', *dār* (lodging); but *kāṭhādāw* 'Kathmandu', *gaḍḍar* 'noise'. *ḍh* is an aspirated alveolar (ṭ) plosive without retroflexion initially, but intervocally a retroflexed flap, and unaspirated in any but pedantic speech: e.g. *aṭhā* 'tr' and a half.

(g) The consonants *ph*, *kh*, *bh*, *ph* is a voiceless labial fricative in all positions: e.g. *phalphul* 'fruit', *suphā* 'clean', *māph* 'pardon'. *kh* is an aspirated plosive initially: e.g. *kākhā* 'eat'; but a velar fricative finally: e.g. *rākh* 'put', *rākh* 'tree', *lekā* 'article'. When followed by a consonant it is a voiceless plosive with very weak aspiration: e.g. *rākhāyālu* 'I am putting'. *bh* is a strongly aspirated plosive initially: e.g. *bhāg* 'share'; but intervocally the occlusion is very weak: e.g. *abhišek* 'coronation'.

(h) Sibilants. Nepali orthography preserves the three devanagari *ś*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*; but in speech the first two are seldom heard, except in the speech of persons who have had a Sanskrit education and wish to make it apparent. Puṣkar Śamṣer recommended the adoption of the orthograph *g* in all indigenous words, to bring spelling in line with pronunciation,⁷¹ and in his own practice he occasionally used it also for Sanskrit loan words: e.g. *akṣar* 'syllable' for *akṣar*. The lexicographers Dhunginā and Śarmā use the orthographs *ś* and *ṣ* for *śasana* words, but leave the matter undetermined in the case of indigenous and *tadbhava* words. For 'ten' they enter both *dās* and *dās*, but give the former precedence.

(i) Syllable Boundaries. In words of the type VCV- and CVV- the first syllable is open: e.g. *a-ha* 'now', *pa-ni* 'also', *ta-ra* 'but', *nā-kha* 'put', *bā-hu* 'term of address'; and also, VVCV-, *ā-i-mā-i* 'woman'. This predominance of the open syllable, which Rogers also noted,⁷² is so marked a feature of Nepali utterance that I adjudged it necessary to mark syllabification in the pronunciation notes in *Introduction to Nepali*. When the boundary between two vowels is a cluster of two consonants, either conjunct or successive, (-VCCV-), the first syllable is closed when the consonants are plosives: e.g. *sa-mi-a* 'up to', *log-ne* 'husband', *jha-mā-kā* 'darkness'; but when one or both of the consonants is semi-vocalic, i.e. *y*, *r*, *l*, etc., it may be open. Korelev's statement that in the Nepali word phonemic and morphological boundaries do not

⁷¹ Puṣkar Śamṣer, op. cit. (fn. 4) 105.

⁷² Rogers, op. cit. 2.

always coincide⁷¹ is valid in this latter connection as it is in the case of single consonant boundaries: e.g. *ga-re-ra* 'having done', *ga-ro* 'he did', verbal base *ga-r-de-khi* 'from', *de-lho* 'the saw', verbal base *dekh-*; *u-ni-a-nu* 'boil', verbal base *uni-*; *gha-ry* 'at home', nominal base *ghar*; *ti-mro* 'your', pronominal base *tim*. When *h* occurs intervocally syllable boundaries are difficult to demarcate. *dhie* 'now' is often misspelt *gye*, which suggests a two-syllable pronunciation. Yet the breathiness is not

altogether lost: $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{p}^h\text{-i} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$. Compare also *sahar* 'city' and *gahro* 'deep': $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{s}^h\text{-a} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$.

$\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{sa} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$; $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{ga} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$; $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} \\ \text{gi} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$. The presence of nasality further complicates the problem of syllable boundaries: e.g. *sāhilo* '3rd eldest', *palilo* 'yellow': $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{HN} \\ \text{sa} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$;

$\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{HN} \\ \text{pa} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$.

7.4 Morphology

Though none of the grammars mentioned above were explicitly designed as studies of Nepali morphology, they contain in their various paradigms sufficient material to serve as a basis for a study of the morphological structure of the different categories of the Nepali word.

7.5 Syntax

Korecky has included in his book a synopsis of certain features of Nepali syntax; but exigencies of space compelled him to keep his descriptive statements short and precluded him in most cases from giving more than one example. The sentence and prose material in *Introduction to Nepali* contains many examples illustrative of a wide variety of syntactical features. These are commented on individually in the grammatical notes, and where considered necessary consolidated in fairly systematic descriptions. They embody such syntactical features as person, number and gender concord categories, verb + verb and verb + postposition compounds, and clause and sentence structures. Attention is also drawn to differences between spoken and written Nepali, and to the growing influence of Hindi on concord categories and sentence structures. It is a marked characteristic of the Nepali sentence that clause linking is effected by the use of infinitives and participles and seldom by conjunctions, which are more commonly employed for comparable functions in Hindi, and which under the influence of Hindi are slowly infringing the written language. Noun clauses, which in English are operated by *that*, adjectival clauses which are operated by

⁷¹ Korecky, *op. cit.* 21.

relative pronouns, etc., and adverbial clauses which are operated by the conjunctions *when*, *after*, *until*, *if*, *though*, *because*, *so that*, etc., are operated in Nepali by infinitives or participles; some with and some without inflectional and positional suffixes. In this respect Nepali syntax differs from the syntax of Hindi and other modern languages of north India, but it does resemble that of Newari. When Newari grammar has been adequately described, it is to be hoped that comparative Nepali-Newari studies will be undertaken.

7.6 Grammar of the Pahañi languages

Little linguistic work has been written on the Pahañi languages. A grammar of Newari was published in 1952 by Pusparatna Sagar.⁷² The hand-book on Thulung Rai by Agastisinga Devast Rai contains some paradigms; and some grammatical information can be extracted from Cemjong's Limbu dictionary. R. Shafter has published two diachronic and comparative studies on the 'Himalayish' dialects,⁷³ and J. Burton-Page a short but important article on two features of Gurungkura.⁷⁴

(a) Newari.

Pusparatna's Newari grammar, which is written in Newari, is intended for the instruction of Newari school children. Parts of it have some value for scholars for reference purposes, provided they can work in Newari. The phonology section is worthless. It is based on the assumption that, as the same script is used for both Sanskrit and Newari, the two languages share a common phonology, and that what is true for Sanskrit is true for Newari. No attempt has been made to study the sound system of Newari. Yet even the most casual listening has raised questions which must be answered before even an elementary phonological statement can be made. How valid for instance is the retention in the orthography of the *l* and *ḷ* variants? The morphology section, though also based to a large extent on Sanskrit, is more helpful. Nouns and pronouns are paradigmatically analysed in the eight cases of Sanskrit, though it appears that there are only five forms which are formally disparate. The division of nominals into two notional categories, *prāyivācaka* 'animate' and *aprayivācaka* 'inanimate', is reasonable because it can be justified on morphological grounds. The analysis of the verb is interesting. It makes distinction of three tenses, present, past and future, and of two persons. There is no formal distinction of number. The verb is divided structurally into ten classes, the principle of differentiation being the *prāyivācaka* suffix morpheme. The *prāyivācaka* are *-ne*, *-le*, *-ye*, *-te*, *-lepe*, *-ke*, *-nake*, *-yake*, *-ve* (?) — *-take* or *-teke*, *-lape*. There is some obvious overlapping in this classification, i.e. between

⁷² Pusparatna 'Sagar', *Siddhant Nepali Bhasa Vyākhyāna* (Kathmandu, 1952).

⁷³ R. Shafter, 'Classification of some languages of the Himalayas', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 36: 3-4 (1950); and 'East Himalayish', *BSOAS* 15: 2 (1953).

⁷⁴ J. Burton-Page, 'Two Studies in Gurungkura', I. Tense, II. Rhotacization and Retroflexion *BSOAS* 17: 1 (1955).

the 5th and 10th, and between those *praty-ya* which have a *-ka* constituent, the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th. These four have in common certain morphological features which do not occur in any of the other classes; and moreover, they also seem to share a common semantic function which the author describes as *pratyāyīka* 'causative'. A suitable classification would therefore seem to accord more closely with the formal evidence. The syntax section is short and unsatisfactory, being based almost entirely on parings taken whole from Nasfield's grammar of English.

(b) Thelung Rāi.

Devasā Rāi's hand-book on Thelung Rāi contains many pronoun-cum-verb paradigms. The verbs have three tenses, present, past and future, a feature they have in common with Newari and Limbu; and both pronouns and verb have three numbers, singular, dual and plural, and three persons.

(c) Limbu

The verbal entries in Cemjong's dictionary comprise four formally differentiated items: e.g.

Limbu	Nepali	English
<i>pe-kā</i> (v. int.)	<i>jānu</i>	To go
<i>pe</i>	<i>jānu</i>	-
<i>peko</i>	<i>gaya</i>	-
	<i>jānecha</i>	-

This formulation suggests that Limbu has a tense system of three. It is not possible to tell whether the Limbu-verb distinguishes person, number and gender, except that if the choice of Nepali equivalents is significant, it might be permissible to assume that the forms *pe*, *pe*, *peko* are 3rd person singular, and possibly masculine. Pronouns are not set out in paradigms, but sample checkings of some of the entries reveal the existence of a number of formal distinctions.

1st Person	Nepali	2nd Person	Limbu	Nepali
Limbu				
<i>ai-si</i>	<i>ma</i>		<i>hene</i>	<i>timi</i>
<i>ai-gā</i>				<i>thulāi</i>
<i>ai-giān</i>	<i>mero</i>			
<i>ai</i>	<i>hūmiharā</i>		<i>henein</i>	<i>tiaro</i>
<i>ai-ge</i>	<i>hūm</i>		<i>heneh</i>	<i>timl dai</i>
	<i>hūmliāt</i>		<i>henehge</i>	<i>timl dukko</i>
<i>ai-ai</i>	<i>hūmī dai</i>		<i>henege</i>	<i>timlharuko</i>
<i>ai-ge</i>	<i>hūmī-dai-ko</i>			

3rd person	Nepali
Limbu	
<i>hane</i>	<i>u, tyo</i>
<i>hanein</i>	<i>usko</i>
<i>hanehi</i>	<i>timl dai</i>
<i>hanehge</i>	<i>timl dukko</i>

This sample establishes that the pronoun distinguishes three persons, at least two cases, and three numbers, singular, dual and plural. The introduction to Cemjong's dictionary contains two notes designed to throw some light on the Limbu language, one on its syntax, the other on the difference between the spoken and written styles.¹⁷

(a) 'In Nepali *ma jānu*, in Hindi *mai jāā hū*, in English *I go*, are the usual expressions.

In Kirāti (the author frequently uses this word as a synonym for Limbu) *ingā pekā* is the equivalent of *ma ma jānu*, or *I go*, that is to say that *I* occurs twice. *kepekā* can be understood as meaning *you go*, but in talking *hene kepekā* is said: *you you go*. Similarly in Nepali *ma jānu*, in Hindi *mai naki jāā*, in English *I do not go*, the negative comes only once. In Kirāti it is *ingā men pekkāna*. Here the negative comes twice, as though it were *I I do not go*.

This statement is difficult to disentangle. Take the first sentence. *ingā* — I; *pek* — go; but what is *-kā*? The dictionary does not give it. If *-kā* is a 1st person suffix, as it well may be, then the Limbu does not differ in this respect from Nepali, which has *ma 'I jānu* 'go' '1st person suffix', or from Hindi either. The dictionary gives insufficient information to resolve the second point, *ingā men pekkāna*: *ingā* — I; *men* — *hōna*, no; *pek* — go; *-kā* — ? 1st person suffix; *-na*, not given. If *-na* is a negative suffix, a case may have been made out for a double negative *men* and *-na*.

(b) 'When writing a word it is usual to increase it by means of a circumlocution (*bañhāra ghumāra*).'

The following examples are given to illustrate this difficult statement.

Spoken	Written
<i>iañ-ā-pā</i>	<i>toron diñ-gān</i> or (sk.)
	<i>talag-ñāñ sāñ</i>
<i>manā</i> or	<i>menchāniag eñ-gān</i> or (man)
<i>manāñ</i>	<i>menchāniag eñ-gān</i>
<i>nāpāl</i>	
<i>yāpāl</i>	
<i>thū-banānenchān</i>	<i>nāligenchān</i> ben or (young person)
	<i>sāngenchān</i>

¹⁷ Limbu Dictionary, Intro. 6-7.

Comment is impossible, but I suspect that there is something wrong in the last example. *thāḍera* is glossed as *young boy*; *māchā* as *young girl*, whereas *nāḷgaṇthāḍera* is glossed as *young man of marriageable age*, and *siṅgaṇmāchā* as *young woman of marriageable age*. It may therefore be that the comparison is not between semantic equivalents. Should not *thāḍera* mean *being translated children*, on the model perhaps of Nepali *keṇḍakeṇi*, literally *young boy-young girl*, which definitely means *children*.

E. TOWARDS STANDARDIZATION OF NEPALI

8.1 The debate on the reform of the Nepali language was joined shortly after the 1950 revolution, and it has attracted an increasing number of participants until today, when their number is legion and, as one scholar puts it, every new contributor has a new set of proposals.⁷² The aspects of language which are under discussion are restricted almost entirely to vocabulary and spelling. There is no argument about grammar in spite of a number of recent innovations. It is significant also that the debate is concerned only with the Nepali language, even though many of the participants are mother-tongue speakers of one of the Pahari languages. The reason is not far to seek. Speakers of the various Pahari languages, including the Newars, have now accepted in principle the fact that Nepali is the national language. They know too that it is the language which they themselves must use in conversation with members of other tribes. There are indications that when any of the Pahari people move away from their native habitat they tend in time to lose their own language and adopt Nepali. The large Newar community in Darjeeling has Nepali as its mother-tongue, and none of them today speak or even understand Newari. Some of the smaller tribes have already lost their ancestral languages, and others appear likely to do so in the generations to come. This is not to say that Nepali will in the foreseeable future become a one-language state; but it is clear that Nepali is increasing at the expense of the Pahari languages. Its present primacy is incontestable and virtually uncontested.

8.2 Vocabulary

In 1950, the Nepalese did not possess the words necessary to express the new concepts of the modern world into which they were so shortly to move, and vocabulary expansion was inevitable. Most of the new words are being borrowed or adapted from Sanskrit; but there is growing resentment against the amount of borrowing and the purposes to which some of the new loans are being applied. Pahari speakers, principally the Newars who have strong views on the subject, complain that Pahari vocabulary elements which have been in common use in Nepali for generations are now being quite unnecessarily eradicated and replaced by Sanskrit words, which are

⁷² Hridayānandashikha Pradhān, *Nepali Bhasā*, Nepali Bhasā CTR, ed. Mahanda S. S. S. (Kathmandu, 1965).

unintelligible to any but the few scholars who are trying to introduce them. It is part of their case that when a Pahari word is in use in Nepali it should be preserved. They further argue that their languages are Nepalese languages, and that before a word is borrowed from Sanskrit, enquiry should be made to ascertain whether or not a suitable word exists in any of their languages. These arguments have found support among mother-tongue speakers of Nepali. Puṣkar Śārmā expressed the view that 'where vocabulary does not exist it may be necessary to borrow from Sanskrit, but before that is done we should look at Newari and the other Nepalese languages'.⁷³ He put forward the same claim for native Nepali words that Newar scholars are advancing for Newari. 'Where Nepali words exist they should be preserved.' He alleged in this connection that there was a growing tendency on the part of Sanskrit-educated Nepalese to divide the Nepali vocabulary into 'polished' and 'unpolished' categories; and to despise native Nepali words as 'unpolished' and replace them by Sanskrit borrowings. He cited as examples the preference in some quarters for *ṛājī* 'Sanskrit husband wife' as against *logne/sṛṇai* or *jolipoi*; for *jivā* 'alive' as against *jivda*. Some of Puṣkar Śārmā's conclusions have been taken up by the newly formed Purist (*gharobādhy*) movement, which numbers among its members many Kathmandu Nepalese and Nepalese residents in Banaras. The purpose of the Purists seems to be to campaign against excessive borrowing from Sanskrit and to repudiate the denigration of Nepali words as *grāḍe* 'pertaining to a village'. An eminent writer has coined a slogan: *sāṇi sṛṇi wāya; mādhur mādhur śobda*, which may be translated 'short sentences and pronounceable words'.⁷⁴ It appears also that Sanskritic neologisms are being artificially constructed to replace English words which are current in ordinary Nepali speech: e.g. *nirjhar lekhai* for *plumtree*, *poṇ* 'fountain pen'; *vāspāyān* for *reḷgāḍī* 'rallying train'; *dhikarī* for *bāiskāl* 'bicycle'. One writer notes that an attempt is now being made to connect a Sanskritism for *jāiprāṇ*. This particular type of reform seems to be following the same lines as its counterpart in India, where too it met with a mixed reception. Hridayānandashikha Pradhān comments somewhat caustically: 'If we manage to acquire somebody's inventions we should keep his name for it, if only as a sort of reward for the inventor'.⁷⁵ Poṭharel, who has written much on reformist movements, agrees: 'It is better to borrow the original name for a thing than to make one up artificially'.⁷⁶ Yet so far has the Sanskritization of the vocabulary of written Nepali advanced that Puṣkar Śārmā was provoked to exclaim that 'to read Nepali nowadays one needs a Sanskrit dictionary'.

8.3 Spelling

The situation with regard to spelling reform is no less confused than that of vocabulary reform, but the participants are less actuated by personal and communal

⁷³ Puṣkar Śārmā, 'Nepaliko māsā māyā', *Janā* 2:27-35, in 78.

⁷⁴ Bhatnagar Pokharel, *Nepali Bhasā*, in *Janā* 38 ff., v. 8, in 26.

⁷⁵ Bhatnagar Pokharel, *Nepali Bhasā*, in *Janā* 38 ff., v. 8, in 26.

⁷⁶ Hridayānandashikha Pradhān, *op. cit.*, in 78, 68.

⁷⁷ v. 8, in 60.

emotions. A proposal has been made to set up a committee to examine spelling problems, but this step has not, so far as I am aware, been taken.¹⁴ It is a matter, however, which might be regarded as falling under the prerogative of the Royal Nepal Academy. The editors of the Academy's dictionary did examine certain aspects of the problem, but they failed to seize the opportunity of doing for Nepali what Johnson's dictionary did for English in the 18th century. So the debate continues, but without promise of a definite conclusion on any of the many issues which need to be decided. Puṣkar Samsher pleaded for simplification; but his plea was ignored. He recommended, for instance, the adoption of a single spelling where multiple choices now exist. His choice for the verb *to descend* was *orhau* vs. The Nepālī *śābda-kōś* has four separate entries: *orhau*, *orhau*, *orhau*, *orhau*. He advocated *culo* 'fire-place'. The *Sanskṛipta Nepālī kōś* enters this word as *cūhlo(cūlo)*; the *Nepālī śābda-kōś* as *cūhlo*; leaving the writer to choose between *cūhlo*, *culo*, *cūhlo*, *cūlo*. There are at present two main schools of thought: on spelling, and their recommendations, which are listed in full in one of Pokharel's essays,¹⁵ are based respectively on the following two principles:

- (i) to retain the syllabic (*akṣarātmak*) nature of the script while removing anomalies; and
- (ii) to convert the script to the lettered (*varjātmak*) principle while removing anomalies.

akṣarātmak:

- (a) to retain the long *i* and *u* forms and discontinue the use of the short forms. (This is the reverse of Turner's proposal.)

- (b) to retain *ṣ* and discontinue the use of *ś* and *ṣ*.

- (c) to reject special forms for *r* and *l* in conjuncts: e.g. instead of हर्ष, वर्ष, क्रिया क्लान्ति, to write हर्स्, वर्स्, क्रीया, क्लान्ती.

- (d) to use the *halanta* (*irām*) sign with the following consonants when they occur as the first member of a conjunct character: झ, छ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, द, र, ह; and to use half-characters in all other cases: क, म, न, र, त, प, फ.

- (e) to write consonants as *halanta* (ending in a consonant) or *ajanta* (ending in the inherent vowel) according to pronunciation: e.g. instead of राम, कान, गर्न, तिर, मन, गर्छ, to write राह, कार, गर्न्, तीर्, मन्, गर्छ.

- (f) to write व or व according to pronunciation.
- (g) to simplify the vowel characters as follows: झ, छा, झी, झो, झै, झो, झा, etc.

varjātmak:

¹⁴ General P. P. is 'Nepālī ra Nepālī', *Nepālī Bāṣā* 82.

¹⁵ P. S. (in. 24) 20.

¹⁶ *Nepālī Bāṣā* ra *Sāhitya* 130-33, vs. (in. 24).

- (h) to discontinue the use of *caṇḍarābīndū* (चं), and to use *śirābīndū* (ः) to mark vowel nasality.

- (i) not to use the nasal consonants ञ and ण; and not to use the *śirābīndū* as the equivalent of a homorganic nasal consonant.

- (j) not to use the sign *visarga* (ः), and to spell words in which it occurs as they are pronounced: e.g. *dukkha*, *ala*, etc.

- (k) to discontinue the use of the special conjuncts झ, च, झ; and to replace them respectively by छ, छ, छच; र, र; and रये.

varjātmak

- (a) to restore semi-obsolete characters such as भ्, etc.

- (b) to treat k, kh, ṣ, gh, etc. as consonants (*yvājar*) not as syllables (*akṣar*).

- (c) to use the vowel characters for a, i, u, ṛ; and discontinue the use of the vowel signs.

- (d) to use the vowel signs for a, o; and to discontinue the use of the vowel characters, and to regard the vowel signs not as signs but as vowels (*yvājar mānā naḥānara*).

visuddha śarararararā phāṇne.

- (e) to write ऐ and औ as झइ and झउ respectively; and to omit *visarga*.

To show what these two new systems will look like in use, Pokharel appends a single passage done first in Nepali as at present spelt, and then in the *akṣarātmak* and *varjātmak* spellings respectively.¹⁷

(a)

जनभावना र जनआकांक्षा अनुसूच स्यापना भएको पचायत व्यवस्थाले आज जनजीवनमा गहिरो स्थान लिँदै गएको छ। यो र समयमा नै यस व्यवस्थाले गर्न सकेको प्रगतिबाट यो व्यवस्था नै देशको निम्ति उपयुक्त छ र यस व्यवस्थाबाट नै देशमा एउटा प्रजा-तांत्रिक, जागरुक र प्रगतिशील समाजको स्थापना गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुँदै आएको छ।

(b)

जन्मावना र जन्माकाङ्क्षा अनुसूच स्यापना भएकी पचायत व्यवस्थाले आज जनजीवनमा गहिरो स्थान लीँदै गएको छ। यो र समयमा नै यस व्यवस्थाले गर्न सकेको प्रगतिबाट यो व्यवस्था नै देशको निम्ति उपयुक्त छ र यस व्यवस्थाबाट नै देशमा एउटा

नतीक, जागूर र जागीसीर समाजको स्थापना गर्न
नये कुरा स्पष्ट हुने नाथको छ ।

URDU

MASUD HUSAIN KHAN

INTRODUCTION

Historically speaking Urdu is a mixed language, as is also indicated by one of its names, *Rekhta* — the mixed one. Based on *Kharī Boli*, a dialect of the Delhi area, it developed as a bazaar-dialect after the entry of the Muslims into Delhi, during the latter part of the 12th century A.D. It grew, however, into its full literary stature in the Deccan, during the 15th and 16th centuries. The center of gravity was shifted again to the North by the beginning of the 18th century. Though having an Indo-Aryan base, its higher vocabulary and literary traditions are mainly of Perso-Arabic origin. The Delhi dialect had been cultivated into a literary language for about four hundred years, when Modern Hindi (*Kharī Boli Hindi*) appeared on the literary scene around 1800. Since then the developments of Urdu and Hindi have been almost parallel. In view of their common base (*Kharī Boli*), the two languages were often referred to as *Hindustani*. This state of affairs changed, however, after the partition of India in 1947. In the Indian constitution Urdu is included in the list of the fourteen principal languages. It has been declared by the State of Jammu and Kashmir as its official language, notwithstanding Kashmiri, which is the regional dialect. According to the Census of 1961, the total number of people who claim it as their mother tongue is about 23 million. They are scattered all over India, their largest concentration being in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, and Andhra Pradesh. Urdu has the status of official language in West Pakistan also, although the mother-tongues of the region are Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, and Baluchi. Linguistic studies in Urdu are necessarily linked up with those of Hindi. This article on Urdu, therefore, is intended to complement the article on Hindi, included in this volume. [See the chapter by Vladimir Milner, Ed.].

LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN URDU BEFORE 1947

Linguistic studies in Urdu prior to 1947 were limited mainly to grammar-writing, lexicography, coinage of terminology for university education, and the editing of

समानाञ्जना र... इत्या अमरउप सथापञ्जना
नञ्जको सनवापञ्जत वरञ्ज... या लया नञ्ज अञ्जनइवञ्ज-
नना गञ्जहरी सथान ल... अरको छञ। योरञ्जइ सञ्जम-
ञ्जपना नञ्जइ वञ्जम वपञ्जवञ्जसथा लय गञ्जरनञ्ज सञ्जकरको पर-
ञ्जगञ्जनइवाट को वयञ्जवञ्जसथा नञ्जइ द्यसको नइमनइ उपञ्ज-
वकतञ्ज छञ रञ्ज वञ्जस वपञ्जवञ्जसथा वाटञ्ज नञ्जइ द्यसना
यउरा परञ्जनातानरउक. जानञ्जरउक रञ्ज परञ्जगञ्जनइमइल
नञ्जनातको सथापञ्जना गञ्जरनञ्ज नञ्जकइनछञ्ज भञ्जननए कउरा
सपञ्जनउञ्ज हइदञ्जइ रएको छञ । ५

Potter's conclusion is easy to grasp; the hope that 'other minds' will apply themselves to the difficult about spelling reform. It is indeed to be hoped that they will, but it is as easy as they do they will realise the futility of ill-judged tampering with the devaranaga script. Some adaptation of the script to accord more closely with the idiosyncrasies of Nepali phonology is clearly called for, as Turner has shown, but the occasional suggestions contained above abound in anomalies and will create more problems than they solve. In fact they solve very few. It is to be noted also that both the reforming schools exist. Ignore what to my mind is the outstanding problem, that of writing a script which and its could be solved by a simple process of casual selection, and we are doing violence to the devaranaga script.

old texts. The earliest grammars of Urdu were written by Europeans¹, including Dutch, Portuguese, English, French, German, and Italian scholars. They usually constitute an effort to present linguistic data pertaining to Urdu within the grammatical frameworks of their own languages. The first work on Urdu grammar by an Indian writer, Inshaullah Khan, was written in 1802, under the title of *Daryā-e-Larfāz*. It is, in fact, more than a grammar, in as much as it takes note of class as well as regional dialectic forms of Delhi Urdu. In writing this grammar, Inshaullah Khan established in Urdu the Perso-Arabic tradition of grammar-writing, which has continued, with modifications, till the present day. The most exhaustive, standard grammar of Urdu was written by Maulavi Abdul Haq in the earlier part of the 20th century. Abdul Haq modified the Perso-Arabic grammatical tradition by introducing notions from Hindi (Sanskritic tradition) and English grammar-writing. Thereby he did greater justice to the specific character of the language, which basically belongs to the Indo-Aryan stock.

The tradition of Urdu lexicography goes back to the early seventeenth century, when for the first time versified lexica of Urdu appeared in order to fulfill the strongly felt need of the children who were learning Persian along with their mother-tongue. The most famous name in this series is that of *Asfīq bārī*.² English-Urdu and Urdu-English dictionaries begin to appear by the end of the 16th century, compiled by European scholars.

The first great Urdu dictionary — *Farhang-e-Asfīyā* came out in the last decades of the 19th century, followed in the early twentieth century by *Nirāl-hijāz*³ and *Jamcūl-hijāz*.⁴

Besides the compilation of dictionaries and the writing of grammars, the most important work towards enriching Urdu during the early part of the 20th century was done by the Urdu translation Bureau of Osmania University, Hyderabad, which was the only institution of higher learning in the country prior to 1947 that employed an Indian language as the medium of instruction at the university level. Under the leadership of capable scholars like Wahiduddin Salim, Abdul Haq, and others, the Bureau coined terminologies for all subjects in the humanities, in the social and natural sciences, as well as in medicine and engineering.

This was also the period in which the editing of manuscripts and textual criticism flourished in Hyderabad opening a new chapter in the history of Urdu literature. The only two important works of descriptive and historical linguistics were written by M. Q. Zare of Osmania University, who belonged to the first group of scholars of linguistics trained abroad. While in London and Paris, he produced with the help of the phonograph and palatograms the first descriptive analysis of Dakhani

¹ *Qawmīyat-e-Urdu*.

² *Asfīq bārī* is wrongly attributed to Amir Khurav of Delhi who died in 1325. It is a much later work written at the beginning of 17th century.

³ Compiled by Maulavi Saeed Ahmad.

⁴ Compiled by Nizami Hasan Nayyar.

⁵ Compiled by Nawab Abdul Majid.

Urdu, entitled *Hindustānī phonetics*, in 1930. This is the period when controversy about the origin of Urdu came up and scholars like Mahmud Sherani⁶ and T. G. Bailey⁷ put forward the idea that Urdu originated from Punjabi. M. Q. Zare⁸ and S. K. Chatterji were of the opinion that Urdu is derived from the language spoken over a wide area, from Lahore to the banks of the river Ganges.

AFTER 1947

Linguistic studies in Urdu after 1947 could be divided into six broad fields:

- (i) Grammars of Urdu.
- (ii) Histories of Urdu language.
- (iii) Descriptive analysis of Urdu on phonetic and phonological levels.
- (iv) Lexicography.
- (v) Script reform.
- (vi) Editing of the old texts.

1. The only important grammar of Urdu written after 1947 is that of T. Grahame Bailey⁹ which according to one of its editors, J. R. Firth, is a "book based on material left by the late Dr. Grahame Bailey, the well-known Indianist, who died in 1942". Among his posthumous papers there were at least two versions of what he intended should become a grammar and language course of Hindustani. The responsibility for editing the work rested with A. H. Harley and J. R. Firth, who prefaced the book with his introduction on the spelling and pronunciation of Urdu. The preface incidentally contains the first significant analysis of Urdu phonemes, called sounds, by J. R. Firth. The script employed is IPA. In this book Grahame Bailey makes important observations as far as the problems of declensions and cases are concerned. His treatment of the Urdu verb, the most intricate part of its grammar, is also significant and different from that of traditional grammarians. Bailey has also made some original remarks on the use of *ne* and repetition of words in Urdu.

2. Masud Husain Khan's *Muqaddama-e-lafīkhi-e-zabān-e-urdu*¹⁰ (Preface to the History of the Urdu language) first came out in 1948. The importance of his research work lies in the new perspective brought to the discussion of the origin of Urdu. In it the author successfully criticizes the various theories about the origin of Urdu and tries to pin down the dialects which played important roles in the development of this language. His main thesis is that Old Urdu was based on the Haryani dialect

⁶ *Punjabi men urdu* (Lahore, 1928).

⁷ *Urdu literature* (The Heritage of India Series, London, 1932).

⁸ *Hindustānī hindīyāt* (Hyderabad, 1932).

⁹ *Teach yourself Hindustani* (London, 1950); reprinted as *Teach yourself Urdu* (London, 1956).

¹⁰ First edition (Delhi, 1948); revised edition (Aligarh, 1958).

of Delhi, while Modern Urdu is standardized on the basis of another Delhi dialect, known as Kharai Boli.

This work was followed by another important book by Shaukat Sabzwari, *Urdu zabān ka itiqād* [The development of Urdu], in 1955. Shaukat Sabzwari's remarks on the origin of Urdu are lost in the cobweb of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistic history, since he goes back to Pali, instead of specifying the actual dialects of the New Indo-Aryan period.

3. Urdu linguistic scholarship had for a very long time been associated with the London School of Oriental and African Studies and the Sorbonne. At the School there was T. Grahame Bailey, "the most distinguished European scholar of Hindustani"; and at the University of Paris the towering personality of the Indianist, Jules Bloch. After 1947 the most inspiring figure in the field of Urdu linguistics was that of J. R. Firth who was deeply interested in the problems of Urdu phonology, in view of his long stay in India prior to occupying the Chair of Linguistics at the University of London. J. R. Firth, who had developed his own prosodic approach in descriptive linguistics, and a team of scholars from India was busy applying his notions to the analysis of their own languages during the later part of the forties. *A phonetic and phonological study of the word in Urdu* was published by Masud Husain Khan, in 1953, and constitutes the first attempt to analyze the prosodies of Urdu at the word level. The descriptive approach of the London School, while satisfying from a theoretical point of view, did not produce any tangible results in phonological analysis, nor did it do away with the notion of the phoneme. While it takes care of what Segal calls "the dynamics of the phonetic elements", it neglects the "segments" under the general notion of "sounds and prosodies".

As far as Urdu scholarship in descriptive linguistics is concerned, the real activity in this field begins in 1954, with the institution of Summer Schools of Linguistics at Poona under the aegis of the Linguistic Society of India and with the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Summer Schools of Linguistics are since then a regular annual feature. Urdu scholars who participated in these schools as members of the faculty or as registrants, although few in number, for the first time began to apply their knowledge by writing articles on the various phonological aspects of their language. A. Q. Sarwari even compiled a text-book, entitled *Zabān aur Ilm-e-Zabān* (Hyderabad, 1956) on general linguistics with special reference to Urdu. G. M. Naimi, Giani Chand Jain and Gopi Chand Narang discussed in their various papers the different phonemes of Urdu, especially the nature of the *ai* diphthong in Urdu. Gopi Chand Narang has also published an important booklet on *Karttlandia*, a class-dialect of Delhi Urdu. This interesting study of a class-dialect has great significance for the scholars who are grappling with the problem of the origin of Urdu, since it contains many linguistic features of Old Urdu. A similar

study on a more systematic basis, but with the same limited data has been made by Bahadur Singh in his brochure, *The dialect of Delhi*.¹⁴

An important study of word phonology of Hindi-Urdu has been made by Ashok R. Kellar in his *Studies in Hindi-Urdu I: introduction and word phonology*.¹⁵ The writer, although not a native speaker of either Hindi or Urdu, gives a brilliant analysis of certain phonological features of these languages. He may, however, be questioned on his data, which is sometimes not very authentic.

Some very significant work in descriptive analysis of Urdu has been done by a young scholar of Urdu, A. Azim, under the able guidance of well-known teachers of linguistics, such as Professors M. R. Haas, E. C. Garcia and U. Weinreich. Some of his important papers, although still unpublished, are worth mentioning — (i) "Approach to Hindustani phonology: European and American" (ii) "Urdu phonemes in Jakobsonian features".¹⁶

In his first paper he tries to contrast the prosodic approach to phonology, as theorized by J. R. Firth of London University, with that of phonetic analysis of Hindi-Urdu made by various Indian and American scholars. The contrast brings out clearly the merits and demerits of the prosodic approach.

Linguistic activity in Pakistan is mainly centered around the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan which has published two volumes of *Pakistani Linguistics* (Lahore, 1962 and 1963). The first volume contains such important articles as, "The common structural basis of Urdu and Panjabi" by Hamid Ahmad Khan and "A Study of Urdu noun phrase types" by Anwar S. Dill. The second volume besides containing such important papers as Alta Dill's "A comparative study of noun phrase in Bengali and Urdu" also includes, "A directory of Pakistani linguists and language scholars".¹⁷

Another important work on Urdu verbs has been done by Sonia Chernelova,¹⁸ a Russian scholar. Her treatment of Urdu verbal forms as widespread classes, although discussed with linguistic insight, does not show much awareness of what present day linguistics has achieved in the U.S.A. and elsewhere. A grammar of Dakhari Urdu (under the misplaced title of *Dakhani Hindi ka udgam aur vikās*) [The origin and development of Dakhari Hindi] (Allahabad, 1964) has recently been published by Shri Ram Sharma. It is the first book of its kind based on the vast literary data of Old Urdu produced in the Deccan from 15th to 18th century. It is a historical grammar with a newly orientated description of the phonemes of Written Dakhari Urdu.

4. Recently some important work has been done in Urdu lexicography as well. Jafar Ali Khan "Asar" has brought forth his one volume dictionary *Faṭḥ-ul-Asar*

¹⁴ South Asian studies 3 (New Delhi, 1966).

¹⁵ Deccan College (Poona, 1963).

¹⁶ Copies of these papers are available from the author who is at present an Assistant in the Dept. of Middle East Languages and Cultures, Columbia University.

¹⁷ [For further information on Urdu studies in Pakistan, see the chapter by Anwar S. Dill in this volume. Ed.]

¹⁸ Miss Sonia Chernelova wrote her thesis directly in Urdu during her stay in India in 1965. Since then she has been awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of Moscow. The thesis is still unpublished. Miss Chernelova is at present lecturer in Urdu at the University of Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

¹¹ J. R. Firth (ed.), *The structure of Hindustani* (Preface).

¹² Published in Urdu, ed. 4 (1955-59) and *Hindustani Zabān* (1960-62).

¹³ Published by Munshi Kazi Mubashir Ali (Delhi, 1961).

(Lucknow, 1961), which is in fact a commentary on the well-known Urdu dictionary, *Nizāl-lughāt*. Asar has a very orthodox approach to language and idiom. He always keeps an eye on the Urdu idiom of Lucknow, although Urdu is widespread on the sub-continent and has more than one form of usage. Another scholar of the Lucknow School, Mirazzeb Lakhnavi, has published four volumes of his extensively planned dictionary, entitled *Muhazzabul-lughāt* (Lucknow, 1958). While this dictionary has been planned in a big way, it is one man's attempt with a very narrow outlook on lexicography. The point of reference for any kind of standard or usage is the author himself, who happens to belong to a family with a rich literary heritage.

However, the most extensive work in Urdu lexicography has been undertaken by The Taraghi-Urdu Board of Pakistan, a government-sponsored body. The Board is attempting to compile a great dictionary on the pattern of the great Oxford dictionary of the English language. The work is still in its initial stage of word collection from original sources. The quarterly journal of the Board, *Urdu Adab*, regularly publishes specimens of this dictionary. It also contains interesting articles on the problems of the etymology of Urdu words.

5. Urdu script has always been a special problem for its scholars. It is in fact an extension of the Perso-Arabic script for the purpose of writing an Indo-Aryan language. Naturally it has undergone many changes during the process on the one hand, and on the other hand, due to the prestige of the Arabic language, it has remained static as far as Arabic letters are concerned. The result is that in some instances there are as many as four letters for a single phoneme. Since the shape of letters changes as they are employed initially, medially, or finally it also presents many difficulties for typing and printing. Even before 1947, under the able guidance and inspiration of Maulavi Abdul Haq, scholars like Abdus-Sattar Siddiqi, Pandit Dattatraya Kaifi, Masud Hasan Rizvi, and Sajjad Mirza were busy with their plans for reforming the Urdu script. This interest has been carried on by scholars like H. K. Sherwani who has published a brochure on the subject, *Urdu rasam-e-akbar aur tabdilat* [Urdu script and printing] in 1955. Sherwani thoroughly discusses the proposals put forward by various scholars to change the script of Urdu from Perso-Arabic to either Roman or Hindi, as well as the proposals to drastically reform the Urdu script by dropping the unnecessary letters representing such Arabic phonemes as *ṣ* (ṣa), *ḥ* (ḥa), *ʿ* (ʿadad), *ẓ* (ẓay), *ḡ* (ḡad), *Ẓ* (Ẓal), *ḥ* (ḥaḥ) and *q* (qain).

While the debate is going on, no practical step has been taken either in India or Pakistan to bring forth a reformed script or to employ Roman for writing Urdu. Even systematization of the diacritical marks which represent short vowels in Urdu is not being followed, although a system was evolved long before 1947 by the Anjuman Taraghi-Urdu.

6. There is a recent growing interest among the Urdu scholars in textual criticism and editing of the Old Urdu texts. Since a large number of Urdu manuscripts are still lying unedited, it has been felt that they should be brought to light before any attempt is made to write a history of Urdu language or literature. The Urdu Depart-

ments of Osmania University, Hyderabad, and of Delhi University are very active on this front with their valuable research journals *Qadim Urdu*¹⁰ and *Urdu-e-Musallā* respectively. While a special number of *Urdu-e-Musallā* (Delhi, 1962)¹¹ has been devoted to articles on Urdu linguistics, five manuscripts have been published in the first volume of *Qadim Urdu*.

Two Urdu scholars, Malik Ram and M. Ahmad, have joined in editing an early eighteenth century Urdu manuscript *Karbal Kāhā* (Patna, 1965) by Fazl, the only manuscript of which was lying neglected in the Tübingen University Library in West Germany. *Karbal Kāhā* is a specimen of earliest Urdu prose in Northern India and a rich source of Old Urdu for the linguistic scholars. Another important manuscript of the same period *Qissa-e-mahroz-o-dilbar*, by Isavi Khan Bahadur, has recently been edited by Masud Husain Khan (Hyderabad, 1966). It is a long story in the colloquial language of the period and, therefore, contains a large amount of interesting linguistic material. The two books together contain very rich material for the student of the history of the Urdu language. They, in fact, fill an important gap in that history. They also testify to the theory about the origin of Urdu and its continuity in the alien linguistic environment in the Deccan during the 15th and 16th centuries. As soon as the Urdu manuscripts of that time in the North are unearthed it will come to light that Dakhani Urdu, far from being a corrupt form of Urdu, is the same language which was spoken in the Delhi area during the 14th and 15th centuries. Transplanted in the far South (Deccan) it became static, while it grew into its new form in Northern India during the succeeding centuries.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We may conclude by saying that the main areas which have interested the Urdu scholars are lexicography, grammar-writing, and textual criticism. Descriptive analysis is of recent growth. The first phonetic analysis of Dakhani Urdu was attempted by M. Q. Zore in 1930. Real interest in descriptive linguistics began after the institution of Summer Schools of Linguistics in 1954. Even to-day achievement in descriptive analysis is insignificant and piecemeal. The historical aspect of linguistic studies in Urdu is also unsatisfactory, due to the lack of Sanskritic scholarship among its researchers. Most of the histories of the Urdu language are based on the material published by the scholars of Indo-Aryan. There is no chair or institute of linguistics devoting itself to Urdu studies. Linguistic studies, as far as Urdu is concerned, are attached to Urdu Departments of the various universities in India and Pakistan, usually headed by literary biased scholars. Under these circumstances they have difficulty in doing justice to either linguistics or literature.

¹⁰ Ed. Masud Husain Khan (Hyderabad 1965); one manuscript *Bilal Kāhā* by Afzal goes back to the early 16th century and is the oldest Urdu poem of Northern India.

¹¹ There are some significant articles in this volume such as *Urdu zuniyāt kā āḡāz* (An outline of Urdu phonetics) and *Urdu ki ibtida* (Origin of Urdu).

2. THE DARDIC GROUP OF LANGUAGES

In the available literature the term Dardic has been used for the inhabitants of the area which is now called Dardisān [the place of the *Dardā*] (see Grierson, 1919, p. 1 ff.). The term Dard has a long history and is found in the *Purāṇas* and also in Kalhaṇa's *Rajatarangīni* (Grierson, 1919). In Sanskrit it means 'mountain' and was perhaps used because most of the Dardic area is mountainous.

In his *LSJ*, and in other works, too, Grierson uses the term Piśācha languages for the so-called Dardic group (Grierson, 1919). He argues that Piśācha was the cover-term used earlier in Sanskrit to refer to these languages. At the same time, he says, he is conscious of the fact that

... some of the speakers of these languages take exception to it on the grounds that, in Indian mythology, the word 'Piśācha' was also used to connote a cannibal demon, and it must be admitted that this was the most common acceptance of the word. In such circumstances, it is useful to explain that a tribe speaking a Piśācha language is not necessarily of Piśācha descent (Grierson, 1919).

In the Dardic family three language groups are traditionally included: Kāfir-group, Khowār-group, and Dard-group.² These three groups are further classified as follows:³

- A. Kāfir-group⁴
 (1) Bishigali (Kai).⁵ (2) Wai-aiā.⁶ (3) Wasi-veri (Veron).⁷ (4) Ashkund.⁸ (5) Kalisha-Pasha.⁹ (6) Goward-bati (Narsiti).¹⁰ (7) Pashai (Laghmān, Dehānī).¹¹ (8)

² A survey of the Dardic languages is given, among others, in the following works: Barth and Morgenstierne (1938). 'The Dardic branch or sub-branch of Indo-European', *ANL* 7: 5-28-294 (1965). Edelman (1965), Grierson (1929), Leitner (1877), G. Morgenstierne (1953), Turner (1927), and Trumpp (1872). Note that Grierson's work, though full of useful data, is outdated now. Morgenstierne's work is much more recent but leaves much to be desired. Edelman (1965) is essentially a summary of Grierson and other earlier scholars.

³ Basically this classification has been maintained since the earlier work of Grierson. See Grierson (1919). It is not possible to give the exact number of the speakers of all these three groups, as political and other reasons have made it difficult to obtain any reliable figures.

⁴ Burnes (1838), Morgenstierne (1945, 1953), and Trumpp (1862, 1868).

⁵ Davidson (1902), Vaidar Indicus (1903), Konow (1911, 1913), and Leitner (1880).

⁶ See Grierson, (1919, pp. 45-58).

⁷ *Ibid.* 39-67.

⁸ Morgenstierne (1939, 1953a).

⁹ See Leitner (1880) and Hamp (1966). Hamp's paper is a structural restatement of Morgenstierne (1953b).

¹⁰ Morgenstierne (1950, 1945b).

¹¹ Grierson (1900a), see also Morgenstierne (1944). Note that Pashai is divided into "a large number of mutually incomprehensible dialects, namely: Gulbāhar, Chitās, Arel, Wergal, Dardai Nor, Larnowan." Morgenstierne claims that "... in spite of all dialectal differences ... Pashai is decidedly one language, well defined through phonetical and especially through morphological and lexical peculiarities" (cf. Morgenstierne, 1952) see also *ANL* 7: 8 (1965).

KASHMIRI AND OTHER DARDIC LANGUAGES

BRAL B. KACHRU

1. INTRODUCTION

The last two decades, especially after 1955, have been of substantial linguistic activity on the Indian sub-continent. A large number of Indian languages have been analyzed for the first time, and new analyses of many languages have been worked out following contemporary linguistic models. By and large, this linguistic interest has left Kashmiri and other Dardic languages untouched. There are two main reasons for this neglect of the Dardic languages. First, politically, the task is difficult since the Dardic language area spreads over three political boundaries and involves three countries (i.e. Afghanistan, sections of the western part of Pakistan, and the northern part of India). Second, geographically, the terrain is not easily accessible. Thus there continues to be a great shortage of reliable and detailed linguistic literature on the Dardic language family. In this review it may, therefore, be useful to refer to all the main works (which are not many) on the Dardic group in general and then concentrate specifically on the Kashmiri language and its dialects.

¹ The Kashmiri language is spoken in the Kashmir Province and some surrounding areas of the Jammu and Kashmir State. This is the northernmost state of India and its boundaries touch Afghanistan, the U.S.S.R., and China in the north, the Punjab lies to the south and Tibet to the east. The present boundaries of the state comprise 0.81 % of India's population (cf. *Census of India 1961* 1:2 C-11 'Languages Tables', [The Registrar General of India, Delhi, 1964]).

The number of Kashmiri speakers in Pakistan is not available. The total number of Kashmiri speakers is doubtful. The number given in the *Census of India, 1961* is 1,949,115. The language area of Kashmiri and its dialects covers approximately 10,000 square miles in the Kashmir province of the State.

Note that the inhabitants of Kashmir call their language (Kashur) and their country (Kashir). In Hindi-Urdu and other Indian languages the terms (Kashmiri) or (Kashmir) are used. In English a great variety of spellings has been used in earlier literature for transliterating the word Kashmiri. For example, note the following: *Aashemiri*, *Gashmiri*, *Gashmirer*, and *Aashmiri*. Note also that the transliteration of the names of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages in the Roman script varies in different works. [have not tried to make it consistent.

Note also the following conventions which have been used in this study for the transcription of Kashmiri: [] below a letter marks the retroflex series; [:] after a letter shows length; [] above a letter shows palatalization; [~] above a letter marks nasalization.

2. THE DARDIC GROUP OF LANGUAGES

In the available literature the term Dardic has been used for the inhabitants of the area which is now called Dardistān [the place of the *Dards*] (see Grierson, 1919, p. 1 ff.). The term Dard has a long history and is found in the *Purāṇas* and also in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅginī* (Grierson, 1919). In Sanskrit it means 'mountain' and was perhaps used because most of the Dardic area is mountainous.

In his *LSI*, and in other works, too, Grierson uses the term Piśācha languages for the so-called Dardic group (Grierson, 1919). He argues that Piśācha was the cover-term used earlier in Sanskrit to refer to these languages. At the same time, he says, he is conscious of the fact that

... some of the speakers of these languages take exception to it on the grounds that, in Indian mythology, the word 'Piśācha' was also used to connote a cannibal demon, and it must be admitted that this was the most common acceptation of the word. In such circumstances, it is useful to explain that a tribe speaking a Piśācha language is not necessarily of Piśācha descent (Grierson, 1919).

In the Dardic family three language groups are traditionally included: Kāfir-group, Khōwār-group, and Dard-group.² These three groups are further classified as follows:³

A. Kāfir-group⁴

(1) Bashgali (Kati);⁵ (2) Wai-alā (Wai);⁶ (3) Wasī-veri (Veron);⁷ (4) Ashkund;⁸ (5) Kalāsha-Pasha;⁹ (6) Gowār-bati (Narsāti);¹⁰ (7) Pashai (Laghmānī, Deghānī);¹¹ (8)

² A survey of the Dardic languages is given, among others, in the following works: Barth and Morgenstierne (1958), "The Dardic branch or sub-branch of Indo-European", *AnL* 7:8, 284-294 (1965), Edelman (1965), Grierson (1929), Leitner (1877), G. Morgenstierne (1953), Turner (1927), and Trumpp (1872). Note that Grierson's work, though full of useful data, is outdated now. Morgenstierne's work is much more recent but leaves much to be desired. Edelman (1965) is essentially a summary of Grierson and other earlier scholars.

³ Basically this classification has been maintained since the earlier work of Grierson. See Grierson (1919). It is not possible to give the exact number of the speakers of all these three groups, as political and other reasons have made it difficult to obtain any reliable figures.

⁴ Burnes (1838), Morgenstierne (1945a, 1953), and Trumpp (1862, 1868).

⁵ Davidson (1902), Viator Indicus (1903), Konow (1911, 1913), and Leitner (1880).

⁶ See Grierson, (1919, pp. 45-58).

⁷ *Ibid.* 59-67.

⁸ Morgenstierne (1929, 1934a).

⁹ See Leitner (1880) and Hamp (1966). Hamp's paper is a structural restatement of Morgenstierne (1954a).

¹⁰ Morgenstierne (1950, 1945b).

¹¹ Grierson (1900a), see also Morgenstierne (1944). Note that Pashai is divided into "a large number of mutually incomprehensible dialects, namely: Gulbahar, Chilas, Aret, Wegal, Darrai Nur, Laurowan." Morgenstierne claims that "... in spite of all dialectal differences ... Pashai is decidedly one language, well defined through phonetical, and especially through morphological and lexical peculiarities" (cf. Morgenstierne, 1932) see also *AnL* 7:8 (1965).

Bashkarik;¹² (9) Tirahi;¹³ (10) Prasun;¹⁴ (11) Gujuri;¹⁵ (12) Waigali;¹⁶ and (13) Zhonjigali.¹⁷

B. Khōwār-group¹⁸

(1) Chitrali, (2) Chatrāri,¹⁹ and (3) Arniyā.

C. Dard-group

(1) Shiṇā;²⁰ (2) Kashmiri;²¹ and (3) Kohistānī (Grierson, 1919, pp. 507 ff.).

The following are considered the dialects of these three languages:

- (1) Shiṇā: Brokpa, Chilāsī, Gilgiti, Shiṇā;
- (2) Kashmiri: Bunjwali, Kashmiri, Kishṭwāri, Pogulī, Sirāji-Kashmiri;
- (3) Kohistānī: Kaghni, Kohistānī;

The current state of research on the Dardic languages is such that it is not possible to use any sophisticated or rigorous criteria for separating the languages and/or dialects in this family. We do not have reliable figures even about the number of speakers of these languages. What is worse, in the available studies, there is no uniformity about the number and names of languages which are included under the Dardic group. It can, however, safely be said that G. A. Grierson's and G. Morgenstierne's works continue to be the only available analyses of the Dardic group.

The question of the final affiliation of the Dardic family of languages has not yet been answered. In earlier as also in current literature we find that arguments have been presented for the following views without much authentic linguistic evidence in support of any of these views. The earlier view, held by Grierson and others, considered the Dardic languages as a third member of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European (Grierson, 1919, pp. 1-10). Another view is held by Morgenstierne who thinks that the Dardic languages are clearly Indo-Aryan, but is somewhat less decided about the Kafir languages. Morgenstierne, commenting on Grierson's view, argues (Morgenstierne, 1947b):

According to Sir George Grierson's well-known theory the Dardic languages, among which he includes also the Kafir group, form a special branch of Indo-Iranian. And he considers Khōw. [Khowar] as occupying an independent position within Dardic: "The Kafir and Dard (= Eastern Dardic) groups are much more nearly related to each other than either is to Khōwār. On the other hand Khōwār shows traces of connection with the Ghalchah languages (= Iranian Pamir languages) spoken north of Pamirs which are wanting in the

¹² Morgenstierne (1940c).

¹³ Grierson (1925) and Morgenstierne (1934b).

¹⁴ Buddruss (1960b) and Morgenstierne (1949).

¹⁵ This is spoken in a small area in Chitral.

¹⁶ Morgenstierne (1954b).

¹⁷ This is spoken in the village of this name.

¹⁸ Morgenstierne (1947b, 1957), O'Brien (1895).

¹⁹ J. Davidson (1900), Morgenstierne (1940a, 1940b), and Tumanovich (1908).

²⁰ Bailey (1924), Berger (1966), Lorimer (1924a, 1924b), Namus (1962), Wilson (1899); also see the section on the Dard Group of Languages in Grierson (1919, pp. 149 ff.).

²¹ For bibliographical references on Kashmiri cf. "Select bibliography" at the end of this paper.

other two groups. It thus resembles a somewhat alien wedge inserted between the other two groups and thrusting them apart, coming into the country subsequently to the other two and after it had developed some of the Ghalchah characteristics" ... I am unable to share these views. The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the true Kafir group, are of pure IA origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic. This state of affairs cannot be altered by the fact that Dardic has preserved many archaisms lost in later IA languages, nor by the wide-spread loss of aspiration.

Emeneau summed up the discussion as follows:²²

It was claimed by Grierson (as well as by some before him) that these two groups of languages [Dardic and Kafir] form a third branch of Indo-Iranian, in that 'they seem to have left the parent stem after the Indo-Aryan languages, but before all the typical Iranian characteristics, which we meet in the Avesta, had become developed'. The material which was gathered by Morgenstierne after Grierson's volume appeared, led Morgenstierne to the conclusion (which has been accepted by, e.g., Jules Bloch and Burrow) that the Dardic languages (Kashmiri, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Khowar, Kalāsha, Pashai, Tirahi) are Indo-Aryan, but did not pass through the MIA developments represented by the records, while, on the other hand, the Kafir languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun, and to some extent Dameli) may occupy some sort of special position. The task of sorting out the evidence is considerably complicated by loanwords in the Kafir languages from neighboring Iranian languages and from other neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, and also by loans in the other directions, i.e., from the Kafir languages into neighboring Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages.

In further detailed discussion of points of evidence adduced by Morgenstierne he was inclined to agree that the Kafir languages retain some archaic features of (perhaps) proto-Indo-Iranian. Namus (1962) treats the Dardic group as one of three branches of the Indo-Iranian family — the other two being Iranian and Indo-Aryan.

The Dard group is in between the Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan groups in its stock of words and phrases. It is a smaller group compared to the other two but possesses its own peculiarities.

The recent Census of India (1961)²³ provides some information about the speakers of the Dardic languages in general though it is restricted to those which are spoken in the Indian territory (see the Table below).

TABLE SHOWING THE DARDIC SPEAKERS ON THE INDIAN TERRITORY

<i>Name of the language (or group)</i>	<i>Number of Speakers</i>
Kāfir group	1
Khōwār group	3
Shinā	856
Brokpa	544
Chilāsī	82

²² Murray B. Emeneau in Birnbaum and Puhvel eds., *Ancient Indo-European dialects* 136-137 (University of California Press, 1966).

²³ Cf. *The census of India, 1961* (Delhi, 1964), pp. ccii and cciii. Note that the Census Report makes it clear that "...the Kafir and Khowar groups of speakers have their main concentration outside the Indian territory..." *Ibid.*

Gilgiti	76
Kashmiri	1,914,446
Sirāji	19,978
Bunjwali	550

The Census report is full of statements of the following type: "Kashtwari is a variety of Kashmiri spoken mainly in the Kishtwar Area" (p. cciii). "Poguli is another variety of Kashmiri spoken in the Jammu area" (p. cciii). "Bunjwali was returned by 550 speakers from the Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir. The language on inquiry was found to be a variety of Kashmiri. So it was tentatively classified as Kashmiri" (p. cciii). The basis for considering a language as a variety of some other language is not made clear and appears to be very arbitrary. By and large, the Census has followed the earlier classification of Grierson.

It is not only the question of the affinity of the Dardic group of languages on which meagre research is available, but also the linguistic structure of these languages has not as yet been satisfactorily worked out.

The following studies concentrate on the Dardic languages in general as opposed to any specific language. Edelman's (1965) analysis is essentially based on earlier sources, particularly those of Grierson and Morgenstierne. Turner (1927) is concerned with some historical questions (especially that of the "intervocalic dentals in Shinā and Kalāsha"). These questions were earlier raised by Morgenstierne (1926). The origins and etymologies of selected Dardic words have been the topic of quite a few papers. Morgenstierne (1951b) gives "a few examples from the so-called Dardic and Kafiri languages ..." as "they are of special interest because they have retained many archaic words and forms which have been lost elsewhere in IA". Another paper on the Dardic group, also by Morgenstierne (1947a), is concerned with the "Metathesis of liquids in Dardic". In it he examines the data for (1) Metathesis of an anteclassonantic *r* and (2) Metathesis of postclassonantic *r*. The languages considered are: Kashmiri, Shinā, Dumākī, Maiyā, Bashkarik, Torwali, Tirahi, Khōwār, Kalāsha, Phalūṛa, Dameli, Gowardbati, Shumashti, Pashai (with many dialects), and the Kafir languages Kati, Waigali, Ashkun and Prasun.

A comparative analysis of the sound system of Dardic languages has been attempted in the "Languages of the world: Indo-European fascicle one" (*AnL* 7:8). The analysis is based on those studies of the Dardic languages which are already available.

3. KASHMIRI AND THE DARDIC FAMILY

The position of Kashmiri in the Dardic family — and its origin — continues to be discussed and no conclusive answer has yet been given. The question was originally raised by Grierson (1915) who claimed that linguistically Kashmiri holds a peculiar position as it has some formal features which show its Dardic characteristics and many other features which it shares with the Indo-Aryan languages such as Punjabi, Hindi,

Gujarati, etc. Chatterji (1963, p. 256) has made the following observation on this question:

As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the language of the *Rg-Vēda* but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the Valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic Age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas... In this way, Kashmir, in spite of a Dardic substratum in its people and its speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhramśa from the Midland and from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements.

But the question still remains: What is the linguistic evidence for the "over-laying" of these elements? There has been no significant research which would answer this question.

Grierson (1915) presents his views against the following remarks which had appeared in the *Kashmir census report* for 1911 (reference in Grierson, 1915):

Kāshmiri used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskritic origin. It has this time been grouped with Shinā-Khōwār according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally urged that it is essentially a Sanskritic language persists, and in view of the historical fact that the Valley of Kashmir, before its conversion to Islām, was wholly populated by Brahmans with their *shastric* lore, that claim might merit reconsideration.

It is against this plea for "reconsideration" of the "Sanskritic origin" of Kashmiri that Grierson presents some data, so that "questions of sentiment, however much we may sympathize with them, must be put altogether to one side in dealing with a purely scientific question". Grierson takes the position that:

... the Piśācha languages, which include the Shinā-Khōwār group, occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to their west. They thus possess many features that are common to them and to the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family... That language [Kashmiri] possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Piśācha, and also those in which Piśācha agrees with Eranian.

The main points which, according to Grierson (see Grierson, 1915) mark Kashmiri as separate from the Indo-Aryan languages are given below. This is based on how the items of Sanskritic stock function in Kashmiri, and how, in this respect, it differs from the other languages of the sub-continent.²⁴

²⁴ Note that a large number of these features are shared by Kashmiri with the Piśācha languages. Grierson (1915, p. 262) also shows how, like other Piśācha languages, Kashmiri "often shows changes peculiar to Eranian, especially East Eranian, languages, and which are not found, or are rare in India". For a discussion of the Piśācha languages see the following studies: Grierson (1906, 1912, 1919), Konow (1910).

- (1) Lack of voiced aspirates in Kashmiri;
- (2) "confusion between cerebral and dental letters" (Grierson, 1915, p. 259);
- (3) "consonantal epenthesis, i.e., the change in a consonant under the influence of the following vowel or semi-vowel" (Grierson, 1915, p. 259);
- (4) aspiration of stops in final position;
- (5) no vowel change or gemination of Prakrit borrowing in Kashmiri;
- (6) in the environment $V + V$, r is not dropped;
- (7) $/n/$ is "liable to elision";
- (8) $/r/$ preceding another consonant is not dropped;
- (9) a as an indefinite marker;
- (10) the presence of a large number of post-positions in Kashmiri which are peculiar to Piśācha;
- (11) numeral system is typically Piśācha;
- (12) threefold distinction of demonstrative pronouns in Kashmiri;
- (13) three term system for the past tense;
- (14) different word order.

On the claim that lexically Kashmiri has a significant number of Sanskrit items, and therefore is of Sanskritic origin, Grierson (1915, p. 267) rightly argues:

Finally we come to the question of vocabulary. It is on this that the claim that Kāshmirī is a Sanskritic language is most strongly based, and, if languages were classed according to vocabulary, the claim would be difficult to controvert. But it is well known that vocabulary cannot be used as a basis of linguistic classification.... But, nevertheless, some of the commonest words, — words that are retained longest in any language, however mixed, and that are seldom borrowed, such as the earlier numerals, or the words for 'father', 'mother', and the like, — are closely allied to the corresponding Shiṇā words, and are therefore of Piśācha origin....

This evidence leads Grierson (1915, p. 270) to the following conclusion:

Kāshmirī is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Piśācha family allied to Shiṇā. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis, — in other words, its phonetic system, its accent, its syntax, its prosody, — is Piśācha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech.

There is still great need of typological and comparative research on Kashmiri with the Indo-Aryan languages and with the Dardic languages so that the question of the affinity of Kashmiri can be answered.

3.1. *Dialects of Kashmiri*

In recent years there has been no serious fieldwork for dialect research on Kashmiri. Grierson's tentative analysis continues to form the basis for dialect classification.

His statements about the dialects of Kashmiri are so vague that no special value can be attached to them.²⁵ The present dialect division of Kashmiri comprises two types of grouping, i.e. (a) those dialects which are AREA-DEFINED; and (b) those dialects which are defined in terms of the USERS.

3.1.1. *Area-defined dialects*

Census of India, 1961 lists the following as the area-defined dialects of Kashmiri:²⁶

Bunjwālī (550); Kishṭwārī (11,633); Pogulī (9,508);
Shirāji-Kashmiri (19,978); Kaghani (452); Kohistānī (81).

This listing is slightly different from that of Grierson. He claims that Kashmiri has "only one true dialect — Kashṭawārī" and "a number of mixed dialects such as Pōguli, Sirāji of Dōḍā and Rāmbanī ... Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhālī form of Lahndā" (Grierson, 1919, p. 233).

It is possible that further dialect research will show that, in addition to the differences of village speech and the so-called religious differences, Kashṭawārī is perhaps the only dialect of Kashmiri. The other so-called dialects are only partially influenced by Kashmiri. These dialects are spoken in the transition zones and thus naturally show some superficial influence of Kashmiri. One might be able to show that these dialects have been equally influenced by Punjabi and its dialects and other neighboring languages. The dialects defined in terms of the users are two, i.e., Hindu Kashmiri and Muslim Kashmiri.²⁷ This distinction continues to be followed in current literature, perhaps without much structural justification (see 3.1.2).

3.1.2. *Religious dialects*

It has been argued (Kachru, forthcoming and mimeographed) that the differences at the phonological level, which are based on the religion of the speech community, may be explained in terms of distribution and frequency of certain phonemes. The other differences are essentially lexical and in some cases morphological. Lexically, Hindu Kashmiri (HK) has borrowed from Sanskrit, and Muslim Kashmiri (MK) from Persian and Arabic.

The religion-based difference is not evident in certain literary forms and specialized

²⁵ Note, for instance, the following: "It [Sirāji] might, with almost equal correctness, be classed as a dialect of Kashmiri or as a dialect of Western Pahārī, but I have put it in the former class, because it possesses certain typical Dardic characteristics which don't belong to the latter". (Grierson, 1919, p. 433).

Again, "In fact Rāmbanī can very fairly be described as a mixture of Sirāji and Dōgri. It still possesses enough Kashmiri peculiarities to entitle it to be classed as a dialect of that language". (Grierson, 1919, p. 458).

²⁶ Cf. *Census of India, 1961* 1:2-C(ii) "Language tables" (Delhi, 1964), p. ccxxxiv.

²⁷ The distinction between *Hindu Kashmiri* and *Muslim Kashmiri* is a traditional one and is maintained by Grierson, and also by later scholars such as Zinda Kaul 'Masterji' and S. K. Toshkhāni.

registers²⁸ (e.g. legal register, official register). In such literary forms and/or registers a type of Kashmiri has developed which cuts across religious boundaries. A special characteristic of such registers is a large number of Persian and/or Arabic loans. In Srinagar Kashmiri the two so-called dialects are also marked by their difference in intonation and rhythm. It is possible that further research may show that there is no significant variation — other than lexical — in the language as used by the two religious communities in the villages.

Notice the following "religion marking" features of the two dialects.

1. *Pronunciation variation.* The following list gives the pronunciation variations of HK and MK. The two communities, however, appear to share the same over-all phonological system. Note however that in MK as spoken in parts of Srinagar, [ɾ] alternates with [r].²⁹ Again, this feature is shared by both the communities in village Kashmiri (e.g., HK: *gur* 'horse'; *yo:r* 'here'; *ho:r* 'there', MK: *guɾ*, *yo:ɾ*, *ho:ɾ*).

(a) *Vowels:*

(i) central vowel → front vowel (e.g. HK: *rih* 'a line'; *ṭih* 'run'; *khin* 'nasal mucus'; MK: *rikh*, *ṭikh*, *khin*); (ii) High central vowel → low central vowel (e.g., HK: *gā:ṭh* 'an eagle'; *dāh* 'ten'; *kāhvi* 'tea'; MK: *gā:ṭh*, *dah*, *kahvi*); (iii) central vowel → back vowel (e.g. HK: *mā:j* 'mother'; MK: *mo:j*); (iv) initial back vowel → central vowel (e.g. HK: *o:lav* 'potatoes'; MK: *ə:lav*).

(b) *Consonants:*

(1) *v* → *ph* (e.g. HK: *kho:(h)vur* 'left'; *ho:(h)vur* 'wife's parents' home'; MK: *kho:phur*, *ho:phur*).

2. *Lexical variation:* Lexical variation is determined by the sources of lexical items. A number of registers (e.g., legal, business) with very high frequency of Arabic and/or Persian items are shared by both the communities. Note, however, the following differences:

HK: *kru:d* 'anger'; *ganḍun* 'betrothal'; *kho:s* 'cup'; *tha:l* 'dish'; *pən* 'a good deed'; *jāḥi:r* 'hubble bubble'; *n'eni* 'meat'; *sarig* 'paradise'; *darim* 'religion'; *māhru:* 'sir'; *pa:ph* 'sin'; *mādre:r* 'sugar'; *siri:* 'sun'; *havaḥ* 'wind'; MK: *gāsi*, *nīṣā:n*¹, *p'a:li*, *trā:m*¹, *sava:b*, *hāki*, *na:ṭi*, (or *ma:z*), *janath*, *di:n*, *haz*, *gānah*, *khaṇḍ*, *akhta:b*, *va:v*).

3. *Morphological variation.* Morphological variations are of two types. First, those which differ in their source. That is, some morphemes of Arabic and Persian are more frequent in MK than in HK and, on the other hand, a large number of morphemes from Sanskrit are used only by HK speakers. Second, those which show the presence, in one community, of a morpheme which is disappearing (or has disappeared) in the speech of the other community. Note, for example, that in MK

²⁸ Cf. M. A. K. Halliday et. al., *The linguistic sciences and language teaching* 77 (London, 1964).

²⁹ Only in final position. Note also the following observation of Morgenstierne (1941): "An important feature of Ksh. [Kashmiri] phonology is the aspiration of final tenues, especially, but not exclusively, in the pronunciation of Hindus".

hargah has been preserved as a conjunction, but in HK it is fast disappearing — at least in Srinagar HK.

3.2. *Phonetics and Phonology*

The earlier analyses of the phonetics and phonology of Kashmiri are of two types. First, those studies on phonetics which are written from pedagogical motivations. Second, those that involve discussions of both phonetics and phonology. I shall discuss some of the more recent ones here. The aim of Bailey's work (1937, p. 1) is "to describe the sounds of Kashmiri and to suggest an accurate, but not too elaborate, method of transcription ..." It presents the phonetics of Kashmiri essentially from a pedagogical point of view. Firth's (1939) transcription, as he says, presents a "tentative analysis" (1939, p. 67) of Kashmiri sounds. Commenting on it, Morgenstierne (1941, p. 82) says:

...this must be regarded more as an analysis of a bit of Kshm. [Kashmiri] 'parole' than as a record of the phonemic system of the 'langue' ...

Morgenstierne (1941, p. 82) presents a critical survey of the earlier works on Kashmiri phonetics and phonology. He has made some very interesting observations on different phonological problems of Kashmiri. It is, however, difficult to follow his analysis as his system of transcription is rather complicated.

Kelkar and Trisal (1964) have given an analysis of the word phonology of Hindu Kashmiri using the structural framework. Kachru's³⁰ two, more or less identical, analyses present the following phoneme inventory of the language:

1. *Consonant inventory*: Consonants have been grouped under the following manner series:

- (a) Stops (i.e. /p ph b, t th d, ʈ ʈh ɖ, k kh g/); (b) Affricates (i.e. /ts tsh, ʈ ʈh j/); (c) Nasals (i.e. /m n/); (d) Fricatives (i.e. /s z ʃ h/); (e) Lateral (i.e. /l/); (f) Trill (i.e. /r/); and (g) Glides (i.e. /u y/).

Notice that, unlike neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, Kashmiri does not have voiced aspirates.

2. *Vowel inventory*. The vowel phonemes have been classified as follows:

- (a) two high: front and back /i/ and /u/; (b) two mid: front and back /e/ and /o/;
- (c) one lower mid back /ɔ/; (d) three central: high, mid and low /ɪ/, /ə/ and /a/.

The following phonetically interesting points may also be noted:

- 1. All the vowels are lengthened.
- 2. All the long vowels are nasalized.

³⁰ See sections on phonetics and phonology in Braj B. Kachru (forthcoming and mimeographed).

3. The following short vowels are nasalized: /e/; /o/; /ɔ/.
4. All the consonants (except palatal affricates and palatal semivowel) may be palatalized.

3.2.1. *Mātrā vowels*

In most analyses of Kashmiri attention has been drawn to what Grierson first termed the *mātrā vowels*. These have been presented as a "mysterious" entity. For instance, in Bailey (1936) we have the following statement:

Anyone seeing Kashmiri (Kashmiri) written in Roman letters and noticing the numerous tiny vowels written above the line must wonder what they are and how they are pronounced, and must be bewildered to be told that many of them are inaudible to non-Kashmiri ears. *It reminds us of the high-pitched musical notes which scientists tell us human ears cannot hear, though cats' ears can.* (My italics).

He sets up six *mātrā* vowels which correspond to: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and *ə* or *ɜ*.

Of these, *a*, *e*, *o*, occur always, and *ə* sometimes, in a medial position. They are pronounced like *a*, *e*, *u*, and *ə*, respectively, but when they merely join two syllables they are often omitted, as in *adrum* 'to be moist', where an *a-mātrā* vowel comes between the *d* and the *r*, but is not sounded (Bailey, 1937, p. 5).

Morgenstierne (1941) observes:

According to all European-observers final *u* and *ū* *mātrā* are inaudible... only in *Srinagar*, while the *i* *mātrā* is sounded like a very short *i*. The main factor... is the affection of a preceding vowel...

Considering the *mātrā* vowels as a serious problem, Morgenstierne tried to find historical explanations for it. He believes (1941, p. 69) that historically,

...the *mātrā*-vowels must have been different vowel-phonemes -*u*, -*i*, -*ū*. At the time present -*i*, -*u* were probably long, as is still some times the case in poetry. Modern -*ū* is very rare and -*i* occurs chiefly in loanwords from Pers. [Persian]. Such words may have been introduced after the shortening of older -*i*, -*ū*. There is therefore no need to assume that there has at any given time existed a series of three different qualities in final syllables -*i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū*.

3.2.2. *Syllable structure*

The following fragmentary information has been given about the syllable structure in Kashmiri (see Kachru forthcoming and mimeographed).

- Words may comprise:
- (a) CV /hu/ 'that person'; CCV /tre/ 'three';
 - (b) VC /tə/ '(you) laugh' (Imp.); CVC /gob/ 'heavy'; CCVC /guts/ 'a good';
 - (c) VCC /amb/ 'a mango'; CVCC /sankh/ 'conch-shell'; CCVC /trōmb/ '(you) accinate him';
- None of these structures can function as constituent syllables within polysyllabic words.

A CC combination in initial and final positions involves a vocalic release or a glide. The nature of the glide is determined by the segment involved. It is this release which has perhaps been given the status of a *mātrā vowel* in literature. The phonological and/or grammatical status of the *mātrā vowels* deserves further investigation.

In his paper on "Syllabication in the Kashmiri language", Varma (1964, pp. 471-474) has made the following observations:

- (a) The combination of -CC is not possible;
- (b) the CVCV structure is 'peculiar to Kashmiri' as there is 'non-acoustic articulation' of the final vowel.

In order to illustrate the above (b) Varma gives the following examples: [korɿ] 'did'; [pɒpɿ] 'ripe'; [tɒnɿ] 'thin' (his transcription). It seems that the sudden release of C's in final position is given syllabic status which makes Varma (p. 471) postulate a syllable with, what he calls, 'non-acoustic articulation' of the -V. In my speech, and in the speech of two other Kashmiris from the same area (i.e. Srinagar, Kashmir), the above words have CVC structure [kor³], [pɒp³], [tɒn³]. Phonologically these will be /kor/, /pɒp/, /tɒn/.

Varma also makes statements on TENACITY and FLUIDITY in Kashmiri. By tenacity is meant the tendency in Kashmiri to "keep apart" each syllable "tenaciously maintaining its individuality" (Varma, 1964, p. 472-473). By fluidity is meant that "a Kashmiri syllable, though very tenacious, is quite sensitive to a succeeding [i] or [u]" (p. 472).

Varma (p. 473) concludes: "(1) that Kashmiri is one of those languages which, by virtue of 'tenacious junction', can offer object lessons on syllabication; and (2) that, this strict syllabication being mostly confined to Kashmiri dialects, it is of international importance to survey these dialects in the near future, for they are rapidly disappearing".

3.2.3. Stress

Kashmiri is a syllable-timed language and stress does not play the same role in it as it plays in the stress-timed languages such as English. The role of stress is one of emphasis-marker as in Hindi, Punjabi, etc.

3.3. Morphology and Syntax

The earlier descriptions of Kashmiri mainly concentrate on phonetics (see 3.2.) and morphology. In Burkhard,³¹ Edgeworth (1841), Grierson,³² Wade (1888), to name a

³¹ Burkhard (1887, 1888, 1889). See also his "Essays on Kashmiri grammar", *Indian Antiquary*, vols. 26-27. These have been translated and edited, with notes and additions by G. A. Grierson.

³² G. A. Grierson, "On the Kashmiri noun", "On primary suffixes in Kāçmīrī", "On the secondary suffixes in Kāçmīrī", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 67 (1898); "On the Kāçmīrī verb", *ibid.* (1899); these papers have been included in his *Essays on Kashmiri grammar* (London and Calcutta, 1899).

few, tentative morphological analyses have been presented. The descriptive techniques used are essentially those used for the analysis of English or Sanskrit. Among these analyses Grierson's papers (see fn. 32) are particularly insightful.

Note that Kashmiri morphology has certain features which mark it as separate from Indo-Aryan languages. For instance, in the demonstrative pronouns Kashmiri has a three-term system, as opposed to a two term system in Hindi and other north Indian languages. Grierson has discussed this and other such features in detail.

A recent analysis by Trisal (1964) presents a more rigorous analysis of contemporary Kashmiri morphology.

There has been practically no serious work on Kashmiri syntax. In Grierson's *LSI*, out of about 100 pages (233-332), there are only two references to syntax, (i.e. Grierson, 1919, p. 316).

[Order of words] is more like that of Persian than like that of Indian languages. The verb very rarely comes at the end of a sentence, but usually occupies the same place as in English.

Again (Grierson, 1915, p. 266):

In the order of words in a sentence, Ksh. [Kashmiri] differs altogether from Indian languages. In the latter the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, and last of all the verb; but, in Ksh. the verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian.

Grierson's treatment of syntax in *A manual of the Kashmiri language* (1911) is not much better. In addition to the above information on syntax, he adds that 'in a subordinate sentence the order is different, the verb generally coming last' (p. 64), and 'sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, a direct sentence is entirely inverted, much as in German or in poetical English' (p. 65).

Trisal's³³ *Kāshmīrī bhāṣhā kā varṇanātmak vyākaran* (in Hindi) is a descriptive analysis of the language based on about 'four thousand words and two thousand sentences'. It presents a description of 'educated' standard Kashmiri of Srinagar, Kashmir. The analysis concentrates on morphology, and a minor portion of it is devoted to syntax. A skeleton outline of Kashmiri grammar has been presented in *A grammatical sketch of Kashmiri* (in press) by Kachru. In the Preface he admits that:

It is to be treated as a *skeleton* analysis, and as a first step towards a detailed description of the Kashmiri language. The theoretical framework adopted here may roughly be termed 'traditional'; and the presentation more or less pedagogically oriented.

It includes short sections on the noun phrase, the verb phrase, clause and sentence, with a concluding section on the style-range in Kashmiri. A more detailed treatment of syntax is given in his *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*.³⁴ Edelman's³⁵ book *Jazyki Kashmiri* has recently been announced.

³³ For a synopsis of Trisal's thesis in Hindi entitled "Kāshmīrī bhāṣhā kā varṇanātmak vyākaran", (unpublished Agra University Ph. D. Thesis, 1964) see *Bhūrattiya Sāhitya* 9:2.59-65 (April, 1964).

³⁴ This has been worked out under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education. It is a manual for teachers and students of Kashmiri.

³⁵ It is to appear in the series *Jazyki narodov aziji i afriki* [Languages of the Asian and African Nations].

The main syntactic feature of Kashmiri on which comments have been made (for example by Grierson) is that in *surface-structure* it is different from Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. For instance, consider the following simple sentences in Hindi and Kashmiri:

- (1) *rām ne khānā khāyā*
 'ram' 'by' 'food' 'ate'
 'Ram ate food.'
- (2) *rāman kh'av batī*
 'ram' 'by' 'ate' 'food'
 'Ram ate food.'

In Kashmiri, unlike Hindi, the verb precedes the object. This difference is also apparent in negative sentences (e.g. *rāman kh'av ni batī*) or interrogative sentences (e.g. *rāman kh'avi batī?* or *kyā rāman kh'avi batī?*). It appears that in more complicated structures, say passive and causative, there are interesting similarities between Kashmiri and the Indo-Aryan languages.

3.4. *Dictionaries and Lexical Studies*

A few lexical studies of Kashmiri date back to the 18th and 19th centuries.³⁶ These studies do not show any sophistication and were produced mainly for two reasons. First, as vocabulary guides for non-Indian and/or non-Kashmiri visitors to Kashmir. Second, as comparative lexical lists for the study of the Dardic (or other) languages. It was again Grierson who produced a four volume 1252 page dictionary (1932) of the Kashmiri language with the assistance of Mukundarāma Śāstri. The basis of this work is the half-completed Kashmiri-Sanskrit *kōṣa* of Išvara Kaula of Srinagar. Išvara Kaula, says Grierson (1932, p. i),

never lived to complete, much less revise, his *Kōṣa* [he died in the year 1893 A.D.]. For the first few letters of the alphabet he had, it is true, written out a fair copy, each entry consisting of a Kāshmirī word together with a synonym in Sanskrit and another in Hindī, but the greater part of the manuscript... consisted merely of memoranda — lists of Kāshmirī words with no translation at all, and even these not covering the whole alphabet.

Grierson's dictionary makes use of both the Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts. The Kashmiri lexical items are given in the Roman and Devanagari and occasionally in the Perso-Arabic script also. It has now become outdated and is also difficult to obtain.

³⁶ For instance, among others, see the following: Austen (1866), Edgeworth (1841), and Elmslie (1872).

4. THE WRITING SYSTEMS OF DARDIC LANGUAGES

In the Dardic sub-family, Kashmiri is the only language which has a literary tradition and for which written records are available. The earliest literary text of Kashmiri has been placed between 1200-1500 A.D. The tradition of literary writing was not continuous and there have been long periods of very meagre literary output. Out of the Dardic group of languages, Kashmiri has used different scripts, while the other languages (dialects) are either unwritten or Perso-Arabic script is generally used. The following scripts have been used for Kashmiri and its dialects:

1. *Sharada*: In Grierson's *On the Sharada alphabet* (1916; see also 1904), a detailed discussion and analysis of this alphabet is given (Grierson, 1916, p. 677-678).

The *Sharada* alphabet is based on the same system as that of the *Nagari* alphabet. It is most nearly related to the *Takri* alphabet of the Pajjāb Hills and to the *Lagada*, or 'clipped', alphabet of the Pajjāb, and through them to the *Gurmukhi* alphabet; but, unlike them, and like *Nagari*, it puts the letters *se* and *ka* at the end of the alphabet, and not after the vowels.

The earliest documents of Kashmiri are written in the *Sharada* script. This script developed around the 10th century. It is now used only for restricted purposes by the Kashmiri Pandit community (say, for religious purposes or horoscope writing). In formation, the symbols are slightly different from the Devanagari symbols, and every letter of the alphabet has a name (1916, p. 680 ff.).

2. *Devanagari*: This script is used by the Kashmiri Hindu community alternately with other scripts. It was particularly made popular by Zinda Kaul 'Masterji' and S. K. Toshkhani. A system of diacritic marks for typically Kashmiri sounds was also devised.

3. *Perso-Arabic*: The use of this script cuts across religious boundaries and is used both by the Pandit community and the Muslims. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has recognized it as the official script since 1947. This script has its disadvantages from the point of view of readability, teachability and typography.³⁷

4. *Romani*: This script has always been used by Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris with some diacritic marks. It has many advantages over *Sharada*, Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts.

5. *Takri*: This is used for Kashmiri in the Kashiwar area of the state.

5. CURRENT RESEARCH

It was only after 1947 that some interest was shown in the linguistic and literary aspects of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages. This naturally led to organized research and individual research on different linguistic and literary aspects of the Dardic

³⁷ In the final decision for accepting this script mostly non-linguistic matters were considered. The usefulness of the Perso-Arabic script for Kashmiri is still doubtful.

group of languages. In current organized research the following three projects deserve special mention.

1. *The Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute*:³⁸ The institute has initiated fieldwork in what they term "Dardo-Pahāri" areas from the Kashmir Valley to the Kangra Valley. The survey included a lexical study of 27 dialects (21 of Pahāri and 6 of Kashmiri). The six area-defined dialects of Kashmiri included in the survey are: (a) Wapur (a village 7 miles from Srinagar), (b) Srinagar town, (c) Banihal, (d) Kashmir, (e) Baimalkot (bordering on Rāsi) and (f) Anantnag.

The projected lexicon will comprise about 32,000 lexical items. It was in October, 1960, that the second phase of research was started under the guidance of Siddheshwar Varma:

The Institute is beginning to realize more and more that the common links in Dardo-Pahāri are of utmost importance for investigation at this stage of our research work. For instance, after a very minute and close study of Kashmiri vowel-system undertaken by the Institute in the past, the investigation of Central Pahāri, viz. Kumauni vowel system, in which we are intensely engaged at present, has started us to the amazing similarity of Kashmiri and Kumauni in their sensitive vowel system, in spite of their mutually unintelligible vocabularies.³⁹

2. *The Academy of Art, Culture, and Languages, Jammu and Kashmir Government*: The Academy has the following projects:⁴⁰ (a) *A Kashmiri-Kashmiri dictionary*,⁴¹ (b) *An Urdu-Kashmiri dictionary*,⁴² The Academy has also undertaken a linguistic survey of several parts of the Kashmiri-speaking areas of the State. It has subsidized the publication of the following linguistically interesting books:⁴³ Abdul Khaliq Tak's *Kashiri zabani hanz i dja'val* (different forms of Kashmiri), and J. L. Kaul's *Studies in Kashmiri*.

3. *University of Illinois, Kashmiri Language Project*: A Kashmiri Language Project was initiated by the Department of Linguistics, at the University of Illinois in Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A. with a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.⁴⁴ The final product of this project will be a pedagogically oriented teaching manual of Kashmiri entitled *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*. The Department is also preparing material for the teaching of Kashmiri to non-Kashmiri students. A course on "Introduction to Kashmiri" has been offered as of the Spring Semester of 1967.⁴⁵

³⁸ This information was kindly given in a private communication dated May 7, 1966 by Vishva Bandhu, Director of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, India.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ This information has been supplied by J. L. Kaul, the then Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, in a private communication dated May 19, 1966.

⁴¹ "The first volume of which is ready for publication". Ibid.

⁴² "One volume of which is expected to be ready by the end of the summer". Ibid.

⁴³ "These are in the press and are expected to be out by the end of this year". Ibid.

⁴⁴ The Director and Principal Investigator of this Project is Braj B. Kachru.

⁴⁵ The University of Illinois is the first University in the western world where a course in Kashmiri is being offered.

6. CONCLUSION

This brief survey shows that the research in Kashmiri and other Dardic languages has made practically no serious progress in the last two decades. We still lack reliable and detailed descriptions of these languages based on contemporary linguistic models. In fact, some of these languages have not been described at all. There is practically no information about the syntax of these languages, and historical and typological questions are being debated on very fragmentary evidence.

The governing questions of the Dardic language areas have shown no special initiative in encouraging scientific research on the languages of their area. Kashmiri, which is the first language of 1,959,115 people, was, until recently, not used for educational purposes. Even now it has only been given the status of a medium of instruction up to the primary classes without providing the teachers with adequate text-books and other teaching materials.

The University of Jammu and Kashmir has so far shown no interest in research in Kashmiri and/or other Dardic languages. One can count many reasons for this attitude (e.g. political, educational), but the main reason is the language-attitude of Kashmiris toward their own language. This attitude has developed over hundreds of years under varied foreign political and cultural domination and, in spite of the recent cultural upsurge, the attitude toward the language has not changed. Perhaps this is why the Government and other educational institutions do not seriously consider [kašur] under their academic domain.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶ I am grateful to Anwar S. Dill, Director-Secretary of The Linguistic Research group of Pakistan for making available to me the papers of Hermann Berger (see fn. 20) and Eric P. Hamp (see fn. 9) which later appeared in *Shahidullah presentation* Volume.

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PART TWO

DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Pakistan, and Ceylon. But the pattern of diversity and the cluster of cleavages are different in each of these countries. In any case, the mere structure of cleavage would not give us any indication of the course of policy decisions or their political outcome. The varying nature and impact of national movements, cultural traditions, political processes and systems, leadership resources, and many other factors constantly impinge on these societies in the definition of group interests, their representation and policy outcomes. The concepts of invariable interests, irreconcilable conflict, and inevitable disintegration are of little use in understanding this complicated multiverse.

(Bombay, 1965). On the specific question of the medium of instruction see the *Report of the Sankar Group sponsored by the Lele Committee* to consider all aspects of the question pertaining to the change of the medium of instruction from English to an Indian language (New Delhi: University Grants Commission, 1963). The studies in this area are too scanty and there is a lot that has to be done. 3. On the social implications of language policy, academic research studies are very rare. One study by J. J. Gumperz has been cited already. Alleen Ross's survey research report "Some social implications of multilingualism", in T. K. N. Unnathan et al. ed., *Towards a sociology of culture in India* (New Delhi, 1965) marks only a beginning. For a Marxist-oriented political analysis see S. M. Karmachandani, *India's language crisis* (Madras, 1965). 4. For direct political analysis of the official language problem one can scan the speeches, writings, and the conference reports of leading spokesmen and groups advocating particular language policies. Dr. Raghu Vira (see fn. 3) presents the most intellectually oriented case for Hindi; C. Rajagopalachari (see fn. 23) and Frank Anthony in *Modern India rejects Hindi* (see fn. 23) for English. From the vantage point of a linguist S. K. Chatterji attacks the official Hindi policy in his note in the *Report of the Official Language Commission* (see fn. 27). 5. Occasional journalistic articles sometimes contain strikingly useful materials. For a detailed listing see *Seminars*, no 70 (December, 1965).

This is only a brief indication of the types of recent studies in the field. Other citations in the essay would supplement this list to a limited extent. Anwar Dill's essay on Pakistan and the contributions on Ceylon included in this volume would indicate the kind of studies that are available on these areas of South Asia.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN SOUTH ASIA

JOHN J. GUMPERZ

Even a casual observer is soon struck with the enormous social and linguistic complexity which characterizes Indian life. Throughout the countryside much of the peasant and small town population continues to live in partial isolation from national affairs. They maintain local speech forms, caste, religious values, and economic practices which, to the outside observer, seem not unlike those of centuries ago. More remote areas, furthermore, are still peopled by tribal groups, some of whom have hardly gone beyond the hunting and gathering stage. Indian cities, on the other hand, are as highly industrialized as any in Asia. Many members of the urban middle classes participate actively in the worldwide English-speaking community of intellectuals. Others are transforming the century-old vernacular literary languages into vehicles dealing with all aspects of modern life, while a sizable third group of intellectuals continues to cultivate the classic Sanskrit and Islamic cultures.

With the growing pace of social change in twentieth century India has come a correspondingly increased importance of urban behavior and speech ways. Urbanization is acting as a solvent upon traditionally compartmentalized and localized modes of life. As a result, new opportunities for mobility have arisen in which literacy is increasingly the key to success. Previously isolated local groups now find themselves in competition for political power and prebends, a competition in which language often becomes a symbol of group allegiance.¹ The attitudinal associations generated by language usage in this complex and highly diverse socio-political matrix affect every aspect of the linguist's work.

Even such elementary matters as language names, number of languages, the location of languages reputed to be still widely spoken, number of speakers continue to be matters of dispute.² Because social conditions so obviously limit the validity of the

1. See C. H. Himmelsbach, *Indian nationalism and Hindu social reform* (Princeton, 1964) and Selig Harrison, *India, the most dangerous decades* (Bombay, 1960), and the historical background provided therein.

2. S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi* (Ahmedabad, 1942); Sir George Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India* 1:1 (Calcutta, 1927) "Introduction". For a discussion of the widely divergent language statistics see J. J. Gumperz, "Some remarks on regional and social language differences in India" in M. Singer (ed.), *Introducing India in liberal education* (Chicago, 1957).

linguist's statements, sociolinguistics, the analysis of social determinants of language usage, has of necessity become an integral part of South Asian linguistics.

SOCIAL DIALECTS

A characteristic feature of Indian society is the segmentation of populations into ethnically distinct, endogamous groups or castes. These groups are only in part territorially separate. In many instances, they coexist in what social scientists study as a single community. They hold similar religious beliefs and regularly exchange services. Yet, although they are in constant communication, they may speak distinct languages and dialects at home. Whereas, in other areas of the world, intergroup communication in time tends to obliterate language-differences, in India such differences appear to be in large part maintained.

Social distinctions in speech are frequently mentioned in Indian literature as well as in ethnographic descriptions.³ In classical Indian drama, principal characters speak Sanskrit, while Prakrit is the language of women and servants. Throughout much of central India, lower caste speakers of Dravidian languages like Telugu and Kannada reside deep in Indo-Aryan-speaking territory. There are, furthermore, tribal areas where a typical village settlement contains speakers of three or four different languages. Even monolingual areas often show significant differences in social dialect. The first systematic treatment of these differences derives from the writing of earlier historical linguists.⁴

During the last decade, structural linguists have turned to empirical studies of the problem. Field studies in North Indian villages reveal important phonological isoglosses separating the speech of untouchables from that of touchable castes.⁵ South Indian Brahmin dialects differ from non-Brahmin dialects, both in phonology and in such morphological features as phonemic shape of grammatical markers, function words, and in systems of greetings and forms of address.⁶ It has further

³ S. K. Chatterji, see fn. 2.

⁴ Jules P. B. "Castes et dialectes en Tamil", *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* 16:1-30 (1910); L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, "Tulu dialectal affixes and suffixes", *Quarterly Journal of the Madras Society* 22:259-273 (1923); L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, "Tulu prose texts in two dialects", *BSOAS* 6:67-93 (1932). For a discussion of other social dialects of Anglo-Indians see S. K. Chatterji, "A Sanskrit-Hindustani study of a Jajpur dialect", *IL* 14 (1931), and John Spencer, "The Anglo-Indians and their speech, a socio-linguistic essay", *Lingua* 16:57-70 (1966).

⁵ John J. Clumperz, "Dialect differences and social stratification in a North Indian village", *Annals of the American Academy of Religion*, *Speech variation and social structure in a group of North Indian villages* (New York, Columbia University Ph. D. dissertation, 1959).

⁶ William Bright, "Language change in some Indian caste dialects", in *Linguistic diversity in South Asia: Indian and Chinese publications in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics*, 13:19-26 (Ed., 1960); William McC. et al., "Social dialects in Dharmar kamnada", *Linguistic diversity in South Asia: Indian and Chinese publications in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics* (Publication 13:79-91 (Ed., 1960); Kamil Zvelebil, "Dialects of Tamil, II", *AO* 27:272-317, 372-603 (1959); Kamil Zvelebil, "Dialects of Tamil, III", *AO* 28:194-201, Kamil Zvelebil, "Some features of Dindigul Tamil",

been suggested that these purely linguistic distinctions may be paralleled by distinctions in cognitive structures.⁷

Bright and Ramaswamy, in a series of articles, compare present-day social dialects with material from earlier stages, noting that different dialects have employed different sources of innovation.⁸ Brahmin Kannada is resistant to phonological and grammatical change in native forms, although it readily accepts both phonological and lexical borrowings from other literary languages. Non-Brahmin dialects, on the other hand, are less affected by foreign borrowings, but show more change in native phonology and grammar. The authors go on to state that the former process indicates conscious innovation, whereas the latter represents subconscious innovation, presumably affecting the internalized linguistic patterns. Evidence from Tulu, an adjoining Dravidian language, on the other hand, shows that both Brahmins and non-Brahmins innovate unconsciously, whereas conscious innovation is confined largely to Brahmins. Since Kannada Brahmins are literate in Kannada, whereas Tulu has no literature, the difference between the two cases is explained by suggesting that it is the literacy of Kannada Brahmins which retards linguistic change.

A further comparison of educated Brahmins and non-Brahmin speech in Tamil by Ramaswamy again shows that non-Brahmin Tamil has changed in the direction of simplifying inflectional paradigms and reducing the morphophonemic irregularities of the older language.⁹ Brahmin speech, on the other hand, tends to favor those innovations which set it off from non-Brahmin speech. Language here serves as a symbol of distinctness in much the same way as do differences in dress and markings on the forehead.

P. B. Pandit deals with social differences in the pronunciation of Sanskrit loan words as used by educated speakers in Marathi and Gujarati.¹⁰ He shows that consonant clusters such as the *kri* of educated Gujarati *bhaskri* 'devotees', a Sanskrit loan word, are found neither in the inherited vernacular vocabulary nor in the original Sanskrit source. Hence he concludes that these and similar clusters are neologisms motivated by the desire of the literary elite to keep their speech distinct. However, while in South India the desire for distinctness seems to be a characteristic of Brahmins, here it seems to affect all educated groups regardless of caste or *gita*.

Problems such as those above have raised many questions regarding the nature

⁷ P. B. Pandit, *Memoria Major (T. P. Aravindaksharam commemorative volume)* 424-446 (1961); William Bright and A. K. Ramaswamy, *A study of Tamil dialects* (Madras, Committee on South Asian Studies, University of Chicago, 1962).

⁸ M. S. Philit, "Caste isoglosses in kinship terms", *AO* 7:79-66 (1965); William Bright, "Language, social stratification, and cognitive orientation", *Sociological Inquiry* 36:313-318 (1966); William Bright, "Social dialect and language history", *Cambrian* 1:423-425 (1960); William Bright, "Language, social stratification, and cognitive orientation", *Cambrian* 1:423-425 (1960); William Bright, "Language, social stratification, and cognitive orientation", *Cambrian* 1:423-425 (1960).

⁹ A. K. Ramaswamy, "The structure of variation: a study in caste-dialects" (to be published in the Proceedings of the Conference on Social Structure and Social Change in India, held at the University of Chicago, 1965).

¹⁰ P. B. Pandit, "Sanskrit clusters and caste dialects", *IL* 24:76-80 (1963).

of linguistic diffusion in India. In an early discussion of this problem, Ferguson and Gumperz, basing themselves largely on western literature, suggested the following assumptions:

First: any group of speakers of language X which regards itself as a close social unit will tend to express its group solidarity by favoring those linguistic innovations which set it apart from other speakers of X who are not part of the group. The existence within a speech community of social distinctions such as those of caste, class, professional guild therefore gives rise to differential rates of linguistic change, favoring the creation of new speech differences or the preservation of existing ones. On the other hand: other things being equal, if two speakers A and B of language X communicate in language X and if A regards B as having more prestige than himself and aspires to equal B's status, then the variety of X spoken by A will tend towards identity with that spoken by B.¹¹

Clearly, this formulation seems too simple to account for the complexities of the Indian caste situation. Emenau cites the case of the Toda, the Koina, and the Badaga of South India, who have lived together in a caste-like relationship for several hundred years.¹² The Toda are at the top of this hierarchy, with the Koina and Badaga performing services for them. Nevertheless, since each group continues to speak its own language, prestige imitation seems to have had little effect. Friedrich, foreshadowing some of Ramanujan's and Pandit's findings, remarks that the relationship between communication frequency and interspeaker attitudes may be as significant as either factor taken alone, since the process of dialect assimilation itself may generate new tendencies toward dialect differentiation as an expression of group solidarity.¹³ The question arises: is it possible to use models derived from European cases to explain the Indian case? Or, is the caste structure so different from the class stratification current elsewhere as to invalidate the application of models derived from non-Indian society? This is a problem recent anthropological literature on caste and class has also raised.¹⁴

Several additional studies bear upon this subject. M. L. Apte in a study of linguistic acculturation in a Bombay city block shows that all residents tend to adopt the standard Marathi which was formerly primarily a Brahmin characteristic.¹⁵ Another comparison, by McCormack, in Dharwar shows similar trends toward the adoption of Brahmin forms by non-Brahmin residents of Brahmin wards.¹⁶ His explanation that non-Brahmins learn by hearing Brahmins correct the speech of their children sounds somewhat forced in view of the fact that generations of non-Brahmins have acted as servants in Brahmin households without adopting Brahmin

¹¹ Charles A. Ferguson and John J. Gumperz, "Introduction", *Linguistic diversity in South Asia*, Indiana University Publications in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics 13.9 (July, 1960).

¹² M. Emenau, "Bilingualism and structural borrowing", *P4Philos* 106:5430-42 (1962).

¹³ Paul Friedrich, "Review of *Linguistic diversity in South Asia*", *Lg* 37.1:162-165 (1961).

¹⁴ F. G. Bailey, "Caste social stratification in India", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 4:107-123 (1963).

¹⁵ M. L. Apte, "Linguistic acculturation and its relation to urbanization and socio-economic factors", *JL* 23.5:25 (1965).

¹⁶ William McCormack, "A causal analysis of caste dialects" (Typescript, 1966).

speech. Nevertheless, both the Apte and the McCormack studies suggest the need for more detailed, ethnographically oriented investigations into the nature of linguistic and social interaction.

In one such study, a North Indian village with thirty-one distinct caste groups shows only four distinct social dialects. One of these, the majority dialect, is spoken by more than eighty per cent of the population, including Brahmins and other high castes as well as some rather poor and depressed artisan and service groups. The remaining three dialects each are spoken by different untouchable groups. Caste per se is not sufficient to explain the facts of language distribution, for the anthropological definition of caste as an endogamous group does not account for the linguistic findings. Frequency of contact similarly fails as an explanation since the most divergent group, the sweepers, work in upper caste homes from sun-up to sun-down, and serve as carriers of gossip from one household to another. Only a more detailed analysis of social interaction provides an answer. Within the majority group, caste does not impose any limitation on friendship formation, while the untouchables are limited to forming friendships within their own groups. In spite of the fact that they maintain regular contact with others, the boundaries which set them off from others thus seem to be quite different from those which mark off other caste groups.¹⁷ It seems that the solution to the problem of linguistic diffusion may be found in more detailed empirical study of interactional norms which limit interpersonal contact. It is quite possible that caste has different effects on communicative boundaries in modern urban and in traditional rural environments. To test such propositions it will be necessary to devise behavioral measures which are independent of the traditional definition of caste.

SUPERPOSED VARIATION

A second type of social variation in language relates to the association between speech forms and particular kinds of activities. Throughout most of Indian history, literary styles were closely connected with religious affiliation. Each of the four Vedas, for example, was cultivated by a particular Brahmin subgroup, and only members of this group, and no others, had the opportunity to learn it. Religious schisms also meant the creation of new literary languages. Thus, Pali owes its existence to the Buddhist revolt against Brahmins. Prakrit was the language of the Jains, etc. Furthermore, literary styles were as a rule quite different from colloquial styles, and years of apprenticeship were necessary to learn them.

Linguistic compartmentalization seems to have reached an extreme in some areas of North India in early modern times. Here, Persian was the language of administrative and government records, Sanskrit the language of Brahminical ritual, Avadhi the language of mythology and philosophical poetry, Braj Bhaskha the language of

¹⁷ John J. Gumperz, "Dialect differences and social stratification in a North Indian village" (see fn. 5).

baghads and i. jical poetry. Urdu was spoken in bazars and in army camps, while merchant and certain artisan groups used a number of special codes to disguise their activities from outsiders.¹⁹ In a linguistic situation as complex as this few individuals could command the necessary skills to deal directly with all possible matters of concern to them. An ordinary individual commonly knew both his own dialect and the language of the bazars, but even if he was literate in one style, he was not necessarily able to read court records or bookkeepers' accounts or religious texts directly. For access to such matters, he had to engage the services of specialist groups. For these specialist groups, their language served as a source of livelihood, to be guarded from outsiders and treated in some way that a medieval guild attempted to preserve its trade secrets.

Since the nineteenth century, English and the modern vernaculars have replaced some of the previous literary and commercial languages. Yet, some degree of compartmentalization of, along with traces of the guild attitude toward, language persists.²⁰ Modern Tamil, and to some extent Bengali, are classical cases of what Ferguson has called diglossia.²¹ Recent comparisons between literary forms and colloquial styles of these languages show important differences in the phonological realization or morphological categories.²² Similar differences are reported for Marathi, Kannada, and Telugu, although no detailed published studies exist. For Marathi, Kachru has described a form of baby talk found in languages outside of India.²³ Characteristics as baby talk found in languages outside of India.²⁴

In the case of Hindi, grammatical differences between colloquial and formal styles are minor. The two literary styles, Hindi and Urdu, differ primarily in the source of borrowing. Hindi draws on the Sanskrit lexicon for its learned words and uses the Sanskrit Nagari script, while Urdu uses Persian and Arabic borrowings and the Arabic script.²⁵ The two languages are further differentiated by the degree to which loan phonemes from the two source languages are integrated. Thus the most formal style of Urdu requires careful pronunciation of such Persian loan sounds as *ʃ*, *z*, *g*, *h*, while the colloquial *ʃ* is characteristic of formal Hindi. In practice, however, speakers differ in the extent to which they follow these pronunciation norms, frequently replacing some of them with their native equivalents. In Hindi-Urdu, therefore, the transition is gradual or fluid, whereas in languages such as Tamil morphore-

mic distinctness of literary and colloquial styles creates the impression of an abrupt break.

Knowledge of standard languages in India is still relatively limited, when compared with other parts of the world. Literacy is relatively low, and is still partly a function of class and caste. In effect, most people are still bilingual, speaking their own dialects at home and the standard language with certain outsiders. Control of the standard varies from person to person; those who have little occasion to leave their village or family circle may know only a few words, while others may be perfectly bilingual. There are indications that, as urbanization increases, standard languages are also spreading.²⁶ But so far we have no empirical study of this process of spread. Data from the Indian census, which does give language information, is somewhat unsatisfactory, partly because of the way in which questions are asked, and because local political pressures tend to color informants' responses. Kelley's study of the spread of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas makes a beginning.²⁷ Certainly more work is required to document and predict the spread of standard languages.

Although the present situation with respect to superposed variation is considerably less complex than that of a few centuries ago, stylistic diversity on the whole is still greater than in most of the industrial societies of the West. In the latter, there is a single literary language which serves all communicative functions, and there are uniform standards by which to judge speech performances. Although contextual speech differences exist, these tend to be associated primarily with lexicon and with minor phonetic variations. In India, on the other hand, the strong association between social context and language form necessitates several standards to judge speech performances.

In any situation of linguistic diversity, the description of how, when, and where particular varieties are used presents a major problem. During the last few years, linguists have begun to make systematic attempts to deal with some of the issues involved here. Unfortunately, there is little in the way of formal description of this type for Indian languages. Most descriptions so far take the form of incidental comments.²⁸ Particular speech varieties are said to occur in certain settings — i.e., in the home, in the market place, in the office — or in talking to particular types of speakers — i.e., upper class, lower class, etc. If the association between linguistic form and social situations is as strong as has been suggested above, more formal study of these matters would be of utmost importance. It could well be that just as villages seem to preserve distinctions in social dialect more than do cities, so also

¹⁹ M. L. Apple, see fn. 15.

²⁰ Gerald Kelley, "The status of Hindi as a lingua franca", in William Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics* 299-308 (The Hague, 1965).

²¹ See, for example, Hamlet Choudhury, "The language problem in East Pakistan", *Linguistic theory in South Asia* 61-70; John J. Gunterz, "Linguistic and social interaction in two communities", in J. J. Gunterz and Dell Hymes (Eds.), *The ethnography of communication* (Ford 66:6-7) 137-155 (1965).

²² Vance Newmark (Typescript, 1961).

²³ J. Das Gupta and John J. Gunterz, "Language communication and context", in Joshua Fishman, Charles Ferguson, and J. Das Gupta (Eds.), *Language problems in the developing area* (New York, 1968).

²⁴ Chastel A. F. Ferguson, "Diglossia", in Dell Hymes (Ed.), *Language in culture and society* 230-439 (New York, 1962).

²⁵ Cf. Shrivastava, Pillai, "Tamil — literary and colloquial", *Linguistic diversity in South Asia* 22-31; Edward C. Dimock, "Literary and Colloquial Bengali in Modern Bengali prose", *Linguistic theory in South Asia* 45-63.

²⁶ A. K. Kelley, "Marathi baby talk", *WPA* 20:40-54 (1964).

²⁷ John J. Gunterz and C. M. Naun, "Personal and informal standard in the Hindi regional language area", *Linguistic theory in South Asia* 92-116.

do they tend to preserve the rigid association of speech and social context. In cities, on the other hand, even a casual observer cannot fail to be impressed by the ease and frequency with which speakers seem to shift from English to local languages. Our present statements on language usage are unable to deal with this phenomenon. Future sociolinguistic studies in India might well follow the example of recent dialect work in the United States, in which both elicitation techniques and analysis take account of situational and interpersonal variants.²²

LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION, AND SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Linguistic diversity cannot fail to have an effect on an individual's relations with those with whom he comes in contact. Whenever speech differences exist, they become sources of stereotypes which enter into one's evaluation of others' background, attitudes, and intentions. Aileen Ross, basing herself on some of the pioneering work on linguistic stereotypes done by Lambert and his associates, has attempted to show how multilingualism in India affects personality development and educational progress.²³ She shows that friendship groups of middle class high school and college students in South Indian schools reflect linguistic differences, and that conflicts over choice of literary style affects reading habits.

It can be shown that compartmentalization of the linguistic repertoire into discrete languages or varieties limits the social mobility of individuals.²⁴ The superposition of a single, uniform literary style like Sanskrit over highly divergent local languages and dialects implies a society in which political control is in the hands of a relatively small, closed elite and popular participation is at a minimum.²⁵ Where literary occupation is continuous with caste, access to the former elite is limited by accident of birth. Even where there are no clear ascriptive barriers, language may serve as a barrier to mobility. In an historical discussion of British educational policy during the early nineteenth century, Windhausen suggests that the decision to use English as the principal medium of education rather than the local vernaculars was motivated by a desire to limit popular participation in political affairs.²⁶ In a study of local politics in nineteenth century Central India, Frykenberg shows that Deshmasth Brahmins used their knowledge of English as a means to political control.²⁷ Das Gupta and Gunperz suggest that the opponents to Gandhi's language policies in North

²² For a more detailed study of this type, see William Labov, *The social stratification of English in New York City* (New York, 1966).

²³ Aileen Ross, "The social implications of multilingualism", in T. K. N. Unnikrishnan, *India and the Language Situation* (Delhi, 1965), *Towards a sociology of culture in India* 212-236 (New Delhi, 1967).

²⁴ Das Gupta and Gunperz, see fn. 19.

²⁵ H. Havranek, "Zum Problem Norm in der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft und Sprachkultur", *International Congress of Linguists* 4th (Leningrad 1951) 157 (Copenhagen, 1956).

²⁶ John D. Windhausen, "The vernaculars, 1815-1835: a third medium for Indian education", *South Asian Languages* 12:281-310 (1964).

²⁷ R. L. Frykenberg, "Traditional processes of power in south India: An historical analysis of caste influence", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1:122-42 (1963).

India are beginning to reintroduce into the language many new linguistic distinctions between literary-colloquial styles. Their policies, if adopted, may create new linguistic barriers to occupational mobility, barriers which have little to do with the technical requirements of modernization.²⁸ It is suggested that more detailed studies of language reforms in these terms might yield some important insights into the nature of group politics.

Basing himself on the findings of the German sociologist Kloss, Ferguson notes that the stages in the growth of standard languages may serve as an index to socioeconomic development.²⁹ He proposes a rating scale based on the function of literary within the speech community and on the type of literature published in the language. McDonald provides detailed documentation for this process in her study of nineteenth century Maharashtra.³⁰ She shows how the growth of a class of English speaking literati and the administrative policies of the British regime both increased the scope of Marathi literature and created a new Marathi reading public, thus transforming what was formerly a literary style restricted to poetry and limited prose functions into a modern, standard language.

LINGUISTIC REFLEXES OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATION

In spite of the tendency for local speech differences to persist, the many centuries of language contact on the South Asian continent have so affected South Asian languages that it is possible to speak of India as a single linguistic area. In a series of articles, Emeneau documents the extent and nature of interlanguage diffusion, both in South India and along the Indo-Aryan-Iranian border zone in Baluchistan.³¹ He provides detailed evidence for the existence of structural borrowing across genetic language boundaries, thus contributing toward the settlement of the long-standing dispute regarding the extent to which linguistic structures may be changed by borrowing over time. A recent article by Andronov gives further evidence of interlanguage diffusion.³² Kachru's semantic study of Indian English suggests that English as spoken on the Indian continent has many of the semantic features of South Asian vernaculars.³³

²⁸ Das Gupta and Gunperz, see fn. 19.

²⁹ Charles A. Ferguson, "The language factor in national development", in Frank Pie (Ed.), *Study of the role of a second language* 8-14 (Washington, 1962).

³⁰ Ellen E. McDonald, "The modernization of communication", *Asian Survey*, 8:7 (1968), in press.

³¹ M. R. Emeneau, *Baluch and Dravidian comparative grammar* (Berkeley, 1962); "Dravidian and Indian linguistics", Berkeley, Center for South Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies (Mimeo, 1962).

³² M. Andronov, "On the typological similarity of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian", *IL* 25:119-126 (1964).

³³ Braj B. Kachru, "An analysis of some features of Indian English: a study in linguistic method", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1961; Braj Kachru, "The Indianness in Indian English" (Typescript).

The synchronic aspects of interlanguage diffusion have begun to be explored in a series of studies of code switching in multilingual communities in India.⁴⁹ Techniques derived from linguistic study of machine translation were applied to the comparison of the perfect bilinguals' performance, first in Hindi-Punjabi, and later on in dialects of Kannada and Marathi. The results show that varieties spoken by these informants are identical in constituent structure and at the level of phonetics. They differ in the morphophonemic realization of shared morphemes.

Although the results of these studies are still preliminary, they raise a number of questions about the susceptibility of language to social influences. Since Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages are genetically unrelated, we must assume that at some time they were syntactically quite distinct, and that the present similarity is the result of language contact over time. The data would seem to indicate that, contrary to what we would expect from recent writings in linguistic theory,⁵⁰ both deep and surface structures have been affected, while the level of morphophonemes shows the greatest amount of conservatism.

Translatability studies of this type raise some important questions about the relationship of particular languages to particular cultures. If it is possible for two genetically unrelated languages to show the same syntactic structure, how does this affect our usual view of bilinguals as marginals between two cultures? Such studies may also have some important implications for practical language policy in India. It has been argued that the diversity of South Asian languages is such as to constitute serious technical difficulties in communication. In the measurement of such difficulties, it would seem that the study of translatability is more important than considerations of genetic similarity.

THE SEMANTICS OF KINSHIP IN SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON¹

NUR YALMAN

1

It is now commonplace in modern philosophy to say that metaphysics follows closely the contours of our language. A corollary of this, rarely examined by philosophers, must be that the metaphysics of different cultures must be as different as their different languages. And not only this, but if patterns of thought are related to languages and culture, it then becomes sensible to think of the structure of customary thought as being different among different peoples. However, even though the theory may develop in this direction, it is also clear that, in practice, for most purposes, the differences between the metaphysics of other cultures and the metaphysics of the West are too subtle and too difficult for the task of analysis to be lightly undertaken. Superficially a cow is a cow, and a tree is a tree; and though the semantic fields may differ between English *cow* and Sinhalese *eladenra*, it is generally agreed that they refer to the same object 'out there'.

It is in the area of kinship that this question becomes particularly susceptible to examination. In this field, customary patterns of nomenclature and categorization retain great strength in different cultures, and it is obvious that they differ from culture to culture.

But what is it precisely that differs? The organization of the family is different, there may be lineages variously patterned, differences in the structure of households, in the behavior of kinsmen, and so on. In other words, the empirical facts 'out there' are different. Hence, it is only natural to suppose that nomenclature and categorization should be homologous to empirical group organization. This raises no problems in

⁴⁹ John J. Givwherz, "Hindi-Punjabi code-switching in Delhi," in Horace G. Lunt (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists* (1115-1124 (The Hague, 1964); John J. Givwherz, "Some dissimilarity in South Asian areal linguistics," to be published in *IL* (Bombay, 1967); John J. Givwherz, "On the linguistic markers of bilingual communication," in John MacSamura (Ed.), "Problems of Bilingualism," *Journal of Social Issues* 23:2, 43-55 (1967).

⁵⁰ M. Halle, "Phonology in generative grammar," *Word* 18, 54-72 (1962).

¹ I had the privilege of reading an earlier version of this paper at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, upon the invitation of Professor Louis Dumont. I wish to record my gratitude to Dumont for having brought a wealth of brilliant insights into South Indian Studies through his work, and for having rigorously insisted on the highest standards of scholarship. I have greatly benefited from the comments of him and his colleagues at the Centre d'Études Indiennes, Paris, but I remain acutely aware of the many weaknesses in the present work which could not be eliminated. Aspects of this work were also discussed with my colleague Dr. S. J. Tambiah at Cambridge. I am grateful to him for many new and fruitful ideas. The faults still remain.

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LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN PAKISTAN

ANWAR S. DIL

1. PREFACE

The purpose of this paper¹ is to provide an introduction to linguistic studies and research in Pakistan with special reference to current trends in Pakistani linguistics.

The period under review nearly covers the first twenty years of this new nation, which came into being on August 14, 1947, as a result of the demand of Indian Muslims for a separate, self-governing country in areas where they were in the majority on the sub-continent. It is said that "few countries which gained independence after World War II started with greater handicaps than Pakistan".² From its first introduction to the world by *Time* magazine as "an economic wreck" in 1947 to its emergence as "an example of rare success",³ Pakistan has shown what a very poor country with extremely poor prospects can do in its struggle for survival.

Viewed in this setting it is not difficult to understand why linguistic studies per se have not been able to get the priority attention they deserve in multilingual Pakistan, which comprises areas with an ancient and respected tradition of linguistic scholarship.

Pakistani linguistics today is not an organized academic discipline; no department of linguistics exists at any Pakistani university. Recent contributions to linguistic science are not commonly known among Pakistani language scholars, and very little theoretical and experimental research is being done at present by Pakistani linguists. And yet, as I suggested above, linguistic and philological studies have always been a part of the classical academic tradition in these areas and a good deal of linguistic work, mostly geared to the task of nation-building, has been done in the

¹ The help rendered by the following colleagues in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowledged: Dr. Muhammad Shohidullah, Dacca; Syed Ali Akbar, Director of the Bengali Academy, Dacca; Muhammad Abdul Hai, Professor of Bengali, University of Dacca; Syed Anwar Ali, Editor, *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi; Mostafa Khayyat, Editor, *Qaum-i Zillat*, Karachi; Shaukat Ali, Editor, *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi; N. A. Baloch, Professor of Sindhi, University of Sindh, Hyderabad; Hameed Ramay, Research Officer, Central Board for Development of Urdu, Lahore; Muhammad Baqir, Chairman, Panjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore; Maulana Abdul Qadir, Director, Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar; D. Y. Morgan of the British Council, London; and Stanley Elam, Editor, *Pbi Delta* (Kappa Publications, Bloomington, Indiana).

² Albert Vaerwien, *Planning in Pakistan* 8 (Baltimore, 1963).

³ Gustav F. Papaneck, *Pakistan, growth in the mixed economy* 3 (Washington D.C., 1965).

period under review. Some of these projects deserve a close look, firstly, because they may have special significance for other developing countries, and secondly, because, as Keith Callard said, Pakistan is "often treated as an appendix to the study of India," and generally speaking there is a tendency among Western scholars to bracket Pakistani languages with Indian languages. For example, in spite of the fact that more than half of the Bengali speakers live in East Pakistan the attention of scholars of Bengali is more often than not directed toward Calcutta rather than Dacca, and East Pakistan is viewed as the "cultural hinterland of Calcutta rather than as a province of Pakistan".³

2. PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD: 1900-47

A. Muhammad Shahidullah (1885-), the grand old man of Pakistani linguistics, was the first student to get a Master's degree in comparative philology (1912) from the University of Calcutta — the first university to start a linguistics programme in the British Empire. In 1919, he joined the Department of Bengali of Calcutta University as Research Assistant and developed a series of lectures on "Historical grammar of the Bengali language" in which he dealt at length with historical and comparative methods of linguistic analysis and presented his research on the Bengali language. His first lecture in the series was published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (1920). In 1921, he joined the University of Dacca as Lecturer in Bengali. His suggestions regarding George A. Grierson's reconstruction of the Apabhraṃśa Sāhityas of Raza-Sarman, published in *Indian Antiquary* (1922-23), brought Shahidullah's research to the attention of leading scholars of the time. Grierson's reply, published along with Shahidullah's note (1924), acknowledged the value of his findings. His famous study, "Etymologie of kubbā, √kabh-, √caṭh-, geṣyaṣ, and jaghū in the Inscriptions of Asoka" (1925) showed his remarkable linguistic insight. In "Magadhi Prakrit and Bengali" (1925) he attempted to trace the origin of Bengali to Old Indo-Aryan through the Gaudī Prakrit. In this study Shahidullah disagreed with Grierson, Herrle, S. K. Chatterji, and other authorities. Shahidullah's findings were later supported by A. B. Keith and others. From Dacca he started a scholarly journal, *Peace*, in which his "Indian loanwords in Arabic" (1925) was published. Next year he took study leave from his University and went to France for higher studies. He carried on his linguistic studies at the *Archiv de la Parole*, Sorbonne, and in 1928 became the first Asian to receive the *Diplôme de Phonétique Experimentale* for his dissertation, *Les sons du bengali*. In this interesting study he used the techniques of artificial palate and direct observation. The monograph, though somewhat dated,

now in view of more recent research in speech analysis, has historical significance and is included in *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah*, now awaiting publication by the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan (LRGP). In 1928, he received his doctorate de l'Université de Paris (très honorable) in Indology, returned to the Dacca University and began a long and most productive career in philological and linguistic studies.⁴ In 1933, in his "The first Aryan colonisation of Ceylon", he presented the view that the Sinhalese language is descended from the Eastern Branch of Middle Indo-Aryan. Wilhelm Geiger, in his *Grammar of the Sinhalese language* (1938), criticised Shahidullah's view favoring the theory that it is to be traced to the Western Branch. Shahidullah followed up this discussion in a later paper.

In 1944 he retired from Dacca University and became Principal of A. H. College, Bogra, continuing his work on Bengali language and oriental studies. He was in close contact with his friend, S. K. Chatterji,⁵ of the University of Calcutta, who had received his doctorate from the University of London in 1921 for his excellent dissertation, *The origin and development of the Bengali language*, which was published by the University of Calcutta, in 1926. Chatterji's *Bhasha prakasha bangla vyākaraṇa* (1939) and *Bangla bhasa lativera bhūmika* (1940), *Languages and the linguistic problem* (1944), were followed by other excellent contributions in Bengali and other languages of the sub-continent. Shahidullah at Dacca and Chatterji at Calcutta were in the forefront of philological and linguistic studies in the country. P. C. D. Chowdhury's "Word frequency in Bengali and its relation to the teaching of reading",⁶ was published in the *Dacca University Bulletin* in 1931. S. C. Chaudhuri's "Notes on Rangpur dialect"⁷ and a number of other valuable studies were conducted during

³ Keith Callard, "Pakistan studies in North America", *Researcher for South Asian area studies in the United States*, 153, ed. Richard D. Lambert (Philadelphia, 1962).

⁴ Ibid. 154.

⁵ His papers include: "Outlines of an historical grammar of the Bengali language", *Journal of the Department of Letters* 355-366 (University of Calcutta, 1920); "The Apabhraṃśa Sāhityas of Raza-Sarman: a few suggestions", *Indian Antiquary* (1923); "Etymologies of kubbā, √kabh-, √caṭh-, geṣyaṣ, and jaghū in the Inscriptions of Asoka", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1:100-102 (1925); *Les sons du bengali* (Unpublished dissertation on experimental phonetics submitted to the *Archiv de la Parole*, University of Sorbonne, 1928) [French. The sounds of Bengali studied with an artificial palate, now translated into English and included in *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah*, being published by the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan, Lahore]; "Indo-European 'h' in Sanskrit *Proceedings of the 3rd All-India Oriental Conference* 715-721 (1931); "The first Aryan colonisation of Ceylon", *Indian Historical Quarterly* 9:742-750 (1933); "Philology and Indian linguistics", Presidential Address at the All-India Oriental Conference, XI Session, Hyderabad, December 1941; "Scientific study of the Sanskrit language", *Pāṇinīyādi*, 14:223-228 (October, 1944); Chatterji, Sumit Kumar, *The origin and development of the Bengali language*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1926); *A Bengali phonetic reader* (London, 1928); "Calcutta Hindustani: a study of a jargon dialect", *Indian Linguistics* 1:1-15 (1931); "Recurses in New Indo-Aryan", *Indian Linguistics* 1:1-15 (1931); *Bhāṣa prakāśa Bangla vyākaraṇa* (Calcutta, 1939) [Bengali. A grammar of Bengali]; *Bangla bhasa lativera bhūmika* (Calcutta, 1940) [Bengali. An introduction to Bengali language]; *Languages and the linguistic problem* (London, 1944).

⁶ Chowdhury, P. C. D., "Word frequency in Bengali and its relation to the teaching of reading", *Dacca University Bulletin* vol. 14 (1931).

⁷ Chaudhuri, S. C., "Notes on Rangpur dialect", *Indian Linguistics* 7:105-110 (1939).

this period. The great services of Shabidullah and Chatterji in promoting linguistic studies in the sub-continent are widely recognised.

B. Meanwhile, Lahore, which had always been the nerve centre of intellectual movements in the sub-continent, was especially lucky to have a distinguished orientalist, A. C. Woolner, as Principal of the Government College. Woolner, author of *Introduction to Prakrit*¹⁰ was, in a sense, the moving spirit of a brilliant group of language scholars in the province. John Rupert Firth was Professor of English at the Government College from 1920 to 1928 and was deeply interested in phonetic and orthographic studies in the languages of the area.

Hafiz Mahmood Shairani of the University Oriental College at Lahore was a leading figure in Urdu linguistics. His book *Panjab me Urdu* (1928) had raised a storm of controversy among language scholars throughout the sub-continent. A number of valuable studies have been published as a result of Shairani's book, which has attained the status of a classic and a model work of linguistic scholarship. Shairani's theory was that Urdu is more closely related to Panjabi than Brij Bhasha. His evidence showed that both Urdu and Panjabi follow similar rules in linguistic and grammatical development, that Urdu possesses certain elements which can be explained only by studying Modern Panjabi, and that some of these elements do not exist in any other language.

Benarsi Das Jaita had received his doctorate in 1926 from the University of London for his work on the phonology of Panjabi.¹¹ Mohan Singh Dewanu was busy in his researches on Panjabi language and prosody.¹² Siddheshwar Varma¹³ and Gauri Shankar¹⁴ were engaged in dialectal studies of Lahnda and Dogri. Mauvi Muhammad Shafi, Syed Muhammad Abdullah, Shaykh Inayatullah, and Muhammad Bagir were more interested in Urdu-Persian-Arabic studies¹⁵ and their contributions were widely respected. It may be difficult today to imagine the great enthusiasm which characterised the work of these and other language scholars of the period. Grierson's monumental work, the *LSI*, was published in eleven big volumes in twenty parts appearing at regular intervals between 1903 and 1928. His numerous articles and

¹⁰ Woolner, A. C. *Introduction to Prakrit* (Calcutta, 1917, revised edition, Lahore, 1928).

¹¹ Jain, Benarsi Das, *A phonology of Panjabi and a Ludhiana Panjabi reader* (Lahore, 1934).

¹² Dewanu, Mohan Singh, *Panjabi language and prosody* (Lahore, 1933).

¹³ Varma, Siddheshwar, "Burushaski texts", *Indian Linguistics* 1.5-6:6-22 (1931); "The phonetics of Lahnda", *JASO* 2.4:1-18 (1936).

¹⁴ Shafiq, Gauri, "A short account of Dogri dialect", *Indian Linguistics* 1.2-4:1-83 (1931).

¹⁵ Abdullah, Syed Muhammad "East India Company ke zamane me Farsi ki halat", *Oriental College Magazine* (August, 1931) Urdu. The condition of Persian during the days of the East India Company is "Musallaman aur Sankrit". *Oriental College Magazine* (February-May, 1946) [Urdu, Bagir, Muhammad, "Teaching of Persian in Indian schools and colleges", *Panjab Education Journal* (Lahore, December, 1942); "The Iranian pronunciation of Persian", *Nur-ul-Talim* (Gakhar, Inayatullah, Shakh, "Arabi zulfan ki ahmiyat", *Oriental College Magazine* (February, 1942) March, 1942).

¹⁶ Urdu. The importance of Arabic language; if it, we learn the Arabic language (Lahore, 1942).

monographs on Kashmiri, Sindhi, Pali, Old North-Western Prakrit, and Indo-Aryan languages also appeared regularly in leading British and Indian scholarly journals. Grierson's writings and the review literature on his work alone would make an excellent collection.

In the midst of so much activity, the need for a national forum for linguists and language scholars was generally recognised. The linguists at Lahore took the initiative and organized the inaugural meeting of the Linguistic Society of India at the residence of Principal Woolner. This historic meeting was held on April 1, 1928, and was attended by prominent linguists and language scholars from all over the Panjab. Gauri Shankar of the Government College was elected as Honorary Secretary of the Society. The first general meeting, held in November, attracted participation by leading linguists from all over the country. It was decided at this conference to start a research journal with Society sponsorship. The first issue of *IL* did not appear, however, until 1931, by which time nine typed and cyclostyled bulletins of the Society had been published. Woolner, who had since become Vice-Chancellor of Panjab University, was Chairman of the Editorial Board.

The great prestige and influence enjoyed by Grierson and his comprehensive work on the languages of the sub-continent is evident in the *Grierson commemorative volume*,¹⁶ prepared in his honour by the Linguistic Society of India. The papers written for this volume included among others three studies on Indo-European by A. B. Keith, J. Vendryes, and Antoine Meillet; Chatterji's "The oldest grammar of Hindustani"; Shankar's "Passive voice in Dogri"; Sukumar Sen's "The verb substantive in Bengali"; B. Kakati's "Formative affixes in Asamese"; and G. Morgenstierne's "The personal pronouns, first and second plural in the Dardic and Kafir languages".

Volume 1 (Parts 1-6) of *IL* (1931) included such valuable studies as Chatterji's "Recursives in New Indo-Aryan" and "Calcutta Hindustani — a study of a jargon language", Shankar's "A short sketch of Dogri dialect", and Varma's "Burushaski texts".

Unfortunately, Vice-Chancellor Woolner's death in 1936 deprived the Society and the journal of an influential supporter. During the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937 it was decided to transfer the headquarters of the Society and the journal to Calcutta, where linguistic studies were a regular part of the University of Calcutta curriculum. Chatterji became editor of the journal beginning with Volume 7.

The beginning of World War II in 1939 and the national freedom movement in the country made the following years all the more difficult for linguistic studies. By the time India and Pakistan gained freedom in 1947 both the Society and the journal were in a dwindling state.

¹⁶ Varma, Siddheshwar, Chatterji, Sumit Kumar, Shankar, Gauri (eds.), *The Grierson commemorative volume* (Lahore, 1931).

C. The third major center of linguistic studies may be roughly covered by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (Anjuman), which coordinated research activities in the field of Urdu language and linguistics throughout the sub-continent — especially at Aligarh, Delhi, Lucknow, and Hyderabad. Deccan. The Anjuman, which was founded mainly through the efforts of the scholars at the Muslim University Aligarh at a meeting held at Delhi in January, 1903, elected Professor Thomas Arnold as President and Maulana Shibli Nomani as its Secretary. Members of the Executive and Advisory Council included such eminent scholars as Maulana Abul Husain Halli, Shamsul Ullah Nazir Ahmad, and Munshi Zakariya. In its initial stages the Anjuman functioned more or less on the pattern of Sir Syed Ahmed's Scientific Society. The first publication of the Anjuman was *Falsafa-i-Talim* (1903) — a Urdu version of Herbert Spencer's *Education*. After Shibli's resignation in December 1903, Maulvi Hafeezur Rahman Khan Shirani was elected Secretary in December. Arnold left for England and most of the supporters of Urdu were scattered; the Anjuman had fallen on bad days. Maulvi Aziz Mirza of Lucknow was elected Secretary in 1910, but the Anjuman needed a full-time Secretary. After Mirza's death Maulvi Abdul Haq, who was then Inspector of Schools at Aurangabad, was elected Secretary. Till then the Anjuman had published ten books, most of them translations of biographical, historical, and sociological works. At the time Abdul Haq took charge, especially after the headquarters were shifted from Aligarh to Aurangabad in 1912, the Anjuman emerged as a powerful force in the linguistic life of the sub-continent. Abdul Haq conducted extensive research on rare transcripts of Deccan Urdu and published a series of them with his detailed introductions. His work on Deccani Urdu led to a new theory of the origin of the language which was later developed in Nasiruddin Hashmi's *Deccan me Urdu* and a number of other works.

Meanwhile implementation of the plans of Jamia Osmania (Osmania University) made in 1915 at Hyderabad, Deccan, had introduced Urdu as the medium of instruction at all levels. Naturally this opened up a whole new field of linguistic work for Urdu scholars. The Jamia established a Translation Bureau in 1916 and soon the problem of technical terminology became a focus of linguistic work. Eminent Urdu scholars, while outlining the guiding principles for translators and soon a system of scientific and technical terminology from English into Urdu. The Anjuman also sponsored a number of projects for translators and the editorial work on the subject was Maulvi Wahid-ud-Din Salim set the stage for future work. *Mudharir-i-Urdu* in which this distinguished scholar at Jamia Osmania presented a detailed linguistic discussion of the basic principles underlying the coining of new terms in Urdu language. Among the most significant publications on this subject is *Intelekt-e-Purkhawan* by Maulvi Zafar-ur-Rahman of Delhi. This remarkable book contains more than 15,000 words and terms pertaining to about

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two hundred professions and pursuits. It is a mine of valuable information for students of Urdu language and culture. A number of publications made available terms and vocabulary necessary for teaching different subjects in Urdu. In 1921 the Anjuman started its quarterly journal *Urdu*, which soon became one of the leading learned journals on the sub-continent. The files of *Urdu* are full of valuable research studies on Urdu language and linguistics. In 1928 the Anjuman sponsored the publication of another quarterly journal, *Science*, which was devoted to scientific literature. Abdul Haq's *Standard English-Urdu dictionary* was another achievement of the Anjuman.

A number of suggestions for improving Urdu script were proposed with a view to developing Urdu for use in offices, law courts, and educational institutions. Problems of typing and printing in Urdu were taken in hand for research. In 1930 Maulvi Abdul Haq was appointed Professor of Urdu at Jamia Osmania and was given a large grant to compile a comprehensive Urdu dictionary. Apart from Platt's and Fehn's dictionaries, *Farhang-i-Arifa* and *Azhar-ul-Lughat* were the only available dictionaries of the Urdu language. After Amir Minali's death, his *Arin-ul-Lughat* was left incomplete, with only the first fascicle, "Alif", published. Abdul Haq's dictionary plan was different from these in that his work was concerned especially with the origin and etymology of words which were not so well handled earlier. Also, emphasis on technical and scientific terms was a special feature. The Editorial Committee included Abdu'l Sattar Siddiqi, Pandit Brij Mohan Dutta, and Syed Hashmi Faridabad.

In 1936 the Hindi-Urdu controversy was led by M. K. Gandhi. Abdul Haq's stand in support of Urdu in this political controversy introduced new directions in Anjuman's future activities. In 1938 the office of the Anjuman was shifted from Aurangabad to Delhi and an All-India Urdu Conference was held at Delhi on December 29-30 in which Urdu was favoured for adoption as the medium of instruction and teaching reading and writing in Urdu to illiterate adults. Abid Ahmad Ali of the Aligarh University presented a report and demonstration of his experiments in Urdu was the best medium of adult literacy programmes. His results showed that Urdu was the best medium of adult literacy programmes for the multi-lingual sub-continent. In 1939 the Anjuman started publication of its fortnightly *Hamari Zuban*. Among the publications of the Anjuman, of special interest to us are: Abdul Haq (1933, 1961, 1962), four volumes of collected writings of Garcin de Tassy, the French scholar of the Urdu language of the 19th century; Syed Insha Allah Khan Insha (1962), the first major work of Urdu grammar; Pandit Dattatraya Kalif (1950), a valuable publication on the history, grammar, orthography, prosody, and stylistics of Urdu.

Syed Ghulam Mohiyyudin Zare Qadri's *Hindustani phonetics*¹¹ was published from London in 1930.

¹¹ Qadri, Syed Ghulam Mohiyyudin Zare, *Hindustani phonetics* (London, 1930).

1. Muhammad Shahidullah retired in 1944 from the University of Dacca, where he had served since 1921. After his retirement he became Principal of A. H. College, Bogra, but the University needed his services so he rejoined the Department of Bengali in 1948 and helped in reorganising it in the changed circumstances after the partition of Bengal in 1947. When a new university was established at Rajshahi his services were acquired by the University of Rajshahi in 1955. There he organised the Department of Bengali. During this period he was under great pressure of work and his linguistic studies suffered as a result. His papers (1948, 1956, 1957) show his devotion to his field of study. Shahidullah's article (1959c), presented at the Pakistan Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1956, put forth the theory that the First Indo-Aryan Vernaculars are descended not from the Vedic or Sanskrit but from an Indo-Aryan form which Shahidullah named "Proto-Prakrit". This Proto-Prakrit differs from Sanskrit partly in the phonology and the vocabulary which are common to all modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. For example, Bengali *umr dākʰo*, or Hindi *umr dākʰo* cannot be derived from Sanskrit *yūyam pūryā* but from the Proto-Prakrit *umr dākʰo*.

In 1958 Shahidullah was called by the Urdu Development Board at Karachi to serve for two years as a full-time Editor of the comprehensive Urdu dictionary. During this period he became interested in the role of linguistic research in highlighting the common origin and linguistic affinities of Urdu and Bengali. This gives some idea of the productivity of this great Pakistani scholar, who knows more languages than any other working linguist on the subcontinent.

In 1960 he joined the Bengali Academy at Dacca as Chief Editor of the three-part comprehensive dictionary of the Bengali language. This project (described elsewhere in this paper) was finished in 1963. Since January, 1964, this five-foot tall, bearded octogenarian has been busy as Chief Editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam in Bengali*. His *Bengali bhāṣār lībrāri* was published in 1965. It covers the period from the 7th century to modern times. An important feature of this work is that Shahidullah traces the origin of Bengali to the old Indo-Aryan, through the Gaudi Prakrit, and not through the Magadhi Prakrit, as has been done by S. K. Chatterji and a number of scholars. Shahidullah has also differed with Chatterji on many deviations in Bengali morphology.

In 1958 the President of Pakistan honoured Shahidullah with the Pride of Performance Award. The Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan presented him with Honorary Life Membership during the First Pakistan Conference of Linguistics at Lahore in December, 1962. The LRGP has just published its *Shahidullah presentation volume* in which, besides seven Pakistani linguists, Charles A. Ferguson, Herbert Penzl, Eric P. Hamp, and Carleton T. Hodge, all from U.S.A., S. K. Chatterji from

INDIA. Hermann Berger from Germany, and Salih J. Al-Toma from Iraq have contributed specially written linguistic papers on Bengali and other Pakistani languages. *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah*, a collection of his major linguistic papers, is in press.

Muhammad Abdul Hai (1919-) Professor and Head of the Department of Bengali and Sanskrit, University of Dacca, received his linguistic training under J. R. Firth at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, from which he received his Master's degree in philology and phonetics in 1952. His thesis (Hai, 1960), has earned favourable reviews and is certainly one of the best studies of the behavior of Bengali sounds with a nasal modulation. It raises, according to Firth, "fundamental questions of phonetic and phonological theory". The thesis is built round the work of Firth, especially his "The English school of phonetics" (1946), "Sounds and prosodies" (1948), "Word palatograms and articulations" (1949), and "Improved techniques in palatography and kymography" (1950). Since his return from England, Hai has helped in developing interest in language and linguistic studies among his students. He utilised a Rockefeller Foundation grant for strengthening the linguistic section in the University library, which today has more titles on the subject than any other Pakistani university. In 1957, Hai attended the Language Teaching Conference at Karachi (described in detail elsewhere). However, when a Language Unit of Punjab and thus a good opportunity was lost for organising linguistic studies at the University of Dacca. I believe that if Dacca had started a Language Unit its fate would have been different from that of the Lahore Unit. Hai, however, availed himself of the opportunity to attend the Linguistic Institutes at Madras (1957) and Mysore (1958) as a member of the faculty. Also, he helped a number of his younger colleagues in his department to go to England and the U.S.A. for studies in modern linguistics. For his own work he published a number of interesting papers on Bengali phonology in both in Bengali and English. His "Aspiration in Standard Bengali" (Hai, 1958) is perhaps his best short paper. In collaboration with W. J. Ball of the British Council, Dacca, he produced *The sound structures of English and Bengali* (Hai, 1958) is a piece of work on the phonetic and phonological level and should be helpful in teaching Bengali to English speakers and English to Bengali speakers. This is a good piece of work or less a summing up of his work on Bengali phonetics and phonology. A praiseworthy feature of the book is the Bengali equivalents of terms used in contemporary linguistics. These should be of great value to native workers in the field. Hai is a member of the Advisory Council of the LRGP and publishes regularly in the *Pakistani linguistics series*. His studies on the Dacca, Chittagong, and Sylhet dialects of Bengali are included in recent volumes. He collaborated with Punyut Stoba Ray and Lila Ray in preparing Ray (1966).

Munier Chowdhury (1926-) received his Master's degree in Linguistics from Harvard University in 1958. As co-author with Charles A. Ferguson he published "The phonemes of Bengali" (1960), one of the best papers yet to appear on the subject.

direction of Charles C. Fries. After receiving her Master's degree in applied linguistics, she worked for some time at the East Pakistan Education Extension Centre, Dacca, where she conducted short-term in-service training courses for trainers and teachers of English and helped in introducing the approach of structural and contrastive linguistics into second language teaching in secondary schools. In March, 1962, she joined the West Pakistan Education Extension Centre at Lahore, where in collaboration with Anwar S. Dil she has helped in promoting and organizing linguistic studies through intensive courses in applied linguistics, ranging in length from two weeks to three months. These courses focussed on improving the teaching of English and Urdu as second languages in West Pakistan. Mrs. Dil published a number of papers on this subject (1975-) received his Master's degree in linguistics in 1961 from the University of Michigan, where he was on the same project as Afia Dil. Muhammad Mohiyuddin (1975-) received his Master's degree in linguistics in 1961 from the University of Michigan, where he was on the same project as Afia Dil. Muhammad Mohiyuddin (1975-) received his Master's degree in linguistics in 1961 from the University of Michigan, where he was on the same project as Afia Dil.

Following his return to Pakistan he worked for some time at the East Pakistan Education Extension Centre and then switched to educational administration. His paper, "General characteristics of the intonation of Bengali", which some have extended the work of Charles Ferguson and Munier Chowdhury on Bengali phonemes, has been published in *Shahidullah presentation volume* (1966).

Syed Ali Ashraf (1975-) is Professor and Head of the Department of English, University of Karachi. Soon after the Bengali Department, prepared a scheme for starting a Department of Linguistics at the University of Karachi. Since his return in 1964 he has again been active in promoting linguistic studies at his University. Recently a well-equipped language laboratory has been installed there through British Council support. Ashraf's major interest is in teaching English as a second language. He recently published a short paper on Bengali diphthongs (Ashraf, 1966). He is Editor of *Venture*, which sometimes contains papers of linguistic interest.

3. A third group of language scholars who are primarily concerned with studies in the literary and cultural setting of Bengali occasionally write on linguistic issues. Those whose writings deserve special attention include, among others: Muhammad Enamul Haq, Director of the Central Board for Development and Research, Dacca; Syed Zulfikar Ali, Professor of English, Institute of Education and Research, Professor in Ali Alisan, Director of the Bengali Academy; Syed Sajid Husain, Professor in Head of Department of English, University of Dacca; Muhammad Ashraf Siddiq, Professor of Bengali and Folklore, Dacca College; and Anisuzzaman, Reader in Bengali, University of Dacca.

4. From among the linguists in other countries the work of S. K. Chatterji and Sukh-

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It updates Chatterji's, Shahidullah's, and Haf's work. Chowdhury's second paper, "The language problem in East Pakistan", was also published in 1960. Since his return to Pakistan, Chowdhury has been more interested than before in literary and cultural pursuits and has won a number of national awards for his creative work in Bengali literature. His linguistic work seems to have become less important to him, though his keen insight and excellent background made his contributions especially valuable in a dialect survey project of the Bengali Academy and the typewriter keyboard for Bengali project of the Central Board for Development of Bengali. Chowdhury's role in the development of linguistics in Pakistan is less active today, but one can expect good work from him.

Qazi Din Muhammad (1927-) received his Ph.D. degree in linguistics from the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1961. His doctoral dissertation, *Verbal phrase in colloquial Bengali: a phonological study*, awaits publication by the LRG. Qazi is a Life Member of the LRG and has participated in both linguistic conferences arranged by the LRG and has presented papers on "Some syntactic structures of the Bengali" (1963) and "The noun in Bengali" (1964). He is Reader in Bengali at the University of Dacca and has been associated with the linguistic projects of the Academy and the Board.

Mufazzal Haider Chaudhury (1926-) studied linguistics at the SOAS. His work has been mostly in the field of word prosodies in Bengali. His book *Colloquial Bengali* (1964), aimed at teaching Bengali as a second language, has been published by the Bengali Academy.

A. K. M. Anwarul Islam (1934-) studied linguistics at the SOAS from 1959 to 1961. Though his Master's thesis, *A phonetic study of inter-word relations in Bengali*, was accepted by the SOAS, he did not complete his work for the Master's degree in linguistics. Instead, he switched over to anthropology and has since finished his Ph.D. programme at McGill University in Canada. A paper based on his dissertation was published in *Pakistan Linguistics* (1963). "The compound word in Bengali" has recently appeared in *Shahidullah presentation volume*. Islam continues his interest in anthropological, linguistic and problems of Pakistani languages and culture.

Muhammad Rafiqul Islam (1934-) received his Master's degree in linguistics from Cornell University in 1960. He is at present Lecturer in Bengali at the University of Dacca. He has been interested in problems of teaching Bengali to speakers of other languages. He has not published his research in Bengali graphemes.

2. There is another influential group of East Pakistani linguists who are Professors of English but are active in Bengali linguistics. Prominent among them are Afia Dil, Muhammad Mohiyuddin, and Syed Ali Ashraf, all of whom are primarily interested in linguistic problems involved in teaching English as a second language in Pakistan.

3. From among the linguists in other countries the work of S. K. Chatterji and Sukh-

mar Sen of India is regarded very highly. Chatterji's great contributions to Bengali language and linguistics were recognised by the LRGP, which awarded him an Honorary Life Membership in 1963. Chatterji has since contributed a valuable paper, "Some Iranian and Turki loans in Sanskrit", (1966) to a recent publication of the LRGP.

The only other foreign scholar to have been awarded an Honorary Life Membership by the LRGP is Charles A. Ferguson, who participated in the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists held at Lahore in January, 1964. His writings² are held in high esteem in Pakistan. He has contributed a paper each in *Pakistani Linguistics* (1963) and *Shah-dalish presentation volume*. The LRGP is planning to publish a volume of his papers on the Bengali language.

Unfortunately, the valuable researches of E. M. B. Ková, B. M. Karpushkin, Z. M. Chevkin, I. A. Seiovidova, and their colleagues in the U.S.S.R. are not available to Pakistani linguists, mainly because of the language barrier.

5. The Bengali Academy established in 1957 has been very active in the field of linguistic projects. Syed Ali Ahsan (1922-) the energetic Director of the Academy, has successfully utilised the linguistic training of Shahidullah, Hai, and the group of linguists at the University of Dacca. The major project of the Academy has been the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary in three parts: *A diachronic dictionary of East Pakistan*, *Functional Bengali dictionary*, and *An encyclopedia of Bengali literature*. For the dialect dictionary, 480 collectors were employed in each of the districts of East Pakistan and thus over 150,000 words, phrases, and idioms were collected. The Editorial Board headed by Shahidullah sifted this collection and retained 75,000 for compilation. So far two parts covering the vowel portion and over half of the consonant portion have been published. S. K. Chatterji and other experts have praised this work highly.

Work on the preparation of *Functional Bengali dictionary* is in progress and materials are being collected by the Academy. So far about 2,000 words have been collected. Special attention is given in this dictionary to: i) new words that have not been included in other dictionaries, ii) well-known Arabic and Persian words used in the works of Muslim writers and ignored by previous compilers, and, iii) indication of gradual changes in meaning, sound, and spelling.

Some time back the Academy set up a committee of experts for suggesting reforms in the Bengali alphabet. The Committee has since recommended a number of reforms in the spelling system. These suggestions are being considered for implementation.

Another interesting project of the Academy is the sample survey conducted on the pattern of Bengali vocabulary from 1740 to 1864 A.D. The purpose of the survey was

² Among others: Ferguson, Charles A., *The phonetics and morphology of Standard Colloquial Bengali* (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1943); "A chart of the Bengali verb", JAOI 65.4:25 (1943); "The Grammatical categories of Bengali", (1965).

to discover general linguistic characteristics of the compositions of writers belonging to different religious denominations during a particular period of history. The use of words, semantic variations, word frequencies, and socio-cultural reasons for the use of certain types of words by authors belonging to different religious orders revealed certain patterns of vocabulary and general tendencies in these writings. Statistical analysis of the findings was made by a professional statistician. The survey results are now available in *Patterns of Bengali vocabulary: 1740-1864* (1964).

In addition to Shahidullah (1965a, 1965b), Hai (1964b), and *Patterns of Bengali vocabulary: 1740-1864*, the Academy has published Shiva Prasanna Lahiry (1962). Lahiry is Professor of Bengali at the Government Carmichael College, Rangpur. His book describes the characteristics of the Sylheti dialect of Bengali. The Academy publishes a quarterly journal in Bengali in which articles and reviews of linguistic interest, mostly on the Bengali language, are published.

6. The Central Board for Development of Bengali, Dacca, was established in 1962 on the recommendation of the Commission on National Education in its *Report* (1959). Muhammad Eramul Haq, a senior scholar of the Bengali language, is its Director. The Board has planned a number of projects, e.g., translation of technical terms in Bengali, standardization of a keyboard for Bengali typewriters, and the preparation of Bengali-Urdu and Urdu-Bengali dictionaries.

The major project of the Board from our point of view is the translation and standardization of technical terms. According to a recent statement issued by the Director of the Board, in science subjects over 24,000 scientific words out of a selected list of 38,000, and in arts subjects over 16,000 words out of a list of 33,000 words and terms from English have been already translated. This is closely linked with recent statements by Vice-Chancellor M. O. Ghani that the University of Dacca proposes to introduce Bengali as medium of instruction in the first year of the graduate class from the academic session of 1968-69. (More information on linguistic projects of the Board was not available at the time this was written).

7. The University of Rajshahi had nothing to report in the field of linguistics. Vice-Chancellor Muhammad Shamsul Haq is, however, interested in introducing linguistic studies and research programmes in the University when proper arrangements can be made.

B. Urdu

1. To the University Oriental College, Lahore, goes credit for taking bold and imaginative steps in carrying on the good tradition of linguistic studies on Urdu, Persian, and Arabic, for which this institution is known throughout the world. The excellent journal of the college, with its international readership, owed its success mainly to Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, Maulvi Muhammad Sharif, Syed Muhammad Abdullah, and other dedicated members of the faculty.

On March 5, 1948, Maulvi Abdul Huq arrived in Lahore from Delhi. Plans for holding the First Urdu Conference in Pakistan were finalized with Sir Abdul Qadir, Mian Bahir Ahmad, and Maulana Salahuddin Ahmad, who had rendered long and dedicated service to the Urdu language through their excellent journals, *Makizun*, *Humayun*, and *Al-Abi Dunya* respectively. The Urdu Conference was inaugurated by Sir Abdul Qadir, and among those who addressed this historic gathering were Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of the Punjab; Vice-Chancellor Omar Hayat Malik of the Punjab University; and Maulvi Abdul Huq. This Conference is a landmark in the history of the Urdu language in Pakistan. Sir Abdul Qadir was elected first President of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu Pakistan, established with headquarters at Karachi. After Sir Abdul Qadir's death in 1949, Maulvi Abdul Huq was elected President. He had migrated from Delhi to Karachi in January, 1949.

The first All-Pakistan Urdu Conference under the auspices of the Anjuman was held in April, 1951, at Karachi. Here efforts were made to review the beginnings of a language movement in East Pakistan for giving equal status to Bengali as the national language of Pakistan. Prominent among the speakers in the Conference were Governor-General of Pakistan Khwaja Nazimuddin, Governor Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Khalifa Abdul Hakim, Shaista Ikramullah, Maulana Muhammad Aftab Khan, and Fazlur Rahman.

For a time it seemed as if there would be no problem in making Urdu the only national language of Pakistan; but several factors complicated the issue and a mass movement was organized in East Pakistan in support of the equal claim of Bengali. As a result, in a special session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on May 7, 1954, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Bengal presented *The Language Formula* (Ali, 1954), according to which Urdu and Bengali were declared national languages of Pakistan, with English as the official language for an interim period.

This development has greatly influenced the course of Urdu linguistics in Pakistan. For example, the principle of parity between Urdu and Bengali, a judicious adjustment of the claims of English as the official language, and proper development of regional languages in the province have introduced some interesting dimensions in linguistic studies in Pakistan. For a time some bitterness was noticed against Urdu in certain parts of West Pakistan also. Some adjustments were accordingly made for Pashto and Sindh as mediums of instruction at the primary and secondary levels. For a while, the Panjabi-Urdu controversy with Mian Afzal Hussian, former Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and Muhammad Baqir of the University Oriental College, as spokesmen of the supporters of Panjabi as the medium of instruction at the primary level, occupied considerable space in a section of the press. Another linguistic controversy that engaged the attention of language scholars for a time is whether or not Urdu script should be changed to Roman script. Most of these issues have been more or less settled now, but it is necessary to record them here to present this review in perspective.

2. Syed Muhammad Abdullah (1906-), who retired early in 1966 as Professor of Urdu and Principal, University Oriental College, has been actively engaged in his researches on the Urdu language for a long time. Among his numerous studies published in the journal of the Oriental College, several appeared before 1947 and should perhaps have been mentioned earlier.¹⁴ He had also finished editing *Nawadir al-fiaz*; the first Urdu dictionary by Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzoo, but it was published later (Abdullah, 1959).

Since the establishment of Pakistan, Syed Abdullah has been more interested in promoting Urdu as the national and official language. After the death of Maulvi Abdul Huq in 1961, the title "Babai-Urdu" has been associated with him in some quarters. He is General-Secretary of the West Pakistan Urdu Academy, which some time back had plans for compiling a Bengali-Urdu and Urdu-Bengali desk dictionary. Since 1947, he has published a number of articles on the general subject of the Urdu language in Pakistan. Beginning with "Pakistan me Urdu ka Pehla Sal" (1948) and "Urdu Apne Nae Mahol me" (1949), his missionary zeal for the future of the Urdu language has grown with the years. Apart from his work in the field of glotto-politics he has published a number of valuable research studies. His excellent introduction to the Urdu language in his edited version of *Nawadir al-fiaz* is a classic work. He is a prolific language scholar and a fuller review of his writings is beyond the scope of this paper.

3. Among the language scholars who joined the University Oriental College after migration from India, Abu Lais Siddiqi is most active and influential in the field of Urdu linguistics. He later joined the University of Karachi and is at present Professor and Head of Department of Urdu. In 1960, when he was a Visiting Professor at Columbia University, he worked with Joseph H. Greenberg and received training in modern linguistic research techniques. Since his return to Pakistan he has been very active in the application of modern linguistic knowledge to the Urdu language. Mainly through his personal efforts, a postgraduate certificate course in general linguistics was started in 1960 at his University. In 1962 he participated in a survey of the present state of language studies in South-East Asia under the auspices of SEATO. This report has since been submitted to SEATO and the Government of Pakistan. I have not been able to see this report, but Professor Siddiqi has informed me that it includes a number of proposals for setting up schools and institutes of language and area studies in the region. If implemented, this project should help greatly in developing linguistic studies in the area.

Siddiqi is closely associated with several linguistic projects of the Central Board for

¹⁴ Abdullah, Syed Muhammad, "Qadim Arabi takwif me Hindustani alfaaz", *Oriental College Magazine* (May, 1947) [Urdu, Hindustani words in ancient Arabic writings]; "Urdu ki tarraqi me Khan Arzoo ka hissa", *Oriental College Magazine* (November, 1947) [Urdu, Khan Arzoo's contribution to the development of Urdu]; "Professor Shairani ka himmat-shahi kam", *Urdu* (December, 1946) [Urdu, Professor [Mahmood] Shairani's research work].

the Development of Urdu, Lahore. His *Buraydi urdu*, patterned on I. A. Richards' *Basic English*, was published early in 1966. He is Editor of the proposed *Comprehensive Urdu grammar* and an up-to-date history of the evolution of the Urdu language. Siddiq expects in the near future to complete his work on a course of forty lessons for teaching Urdu as a second language. The course is planned to include a set of tapes and slides.

4. Shaikat Sabzwari (1905-) after his migration from Meerut, India, joined the University of Dacca faculty as Lecturer in Urdu. He received his Ph.D. degree from the University for his work on the origin and development of Urdu. Later he became Editor of the *Comprehensive Urdu dictionary*, planned by the Urdu Development Board, Karachi. The project is still in progress and is described elsewhere in this paper. Sabzwari is essentially an etymologist with special interest in historical and comparative linguistics. He has a good background in Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. He is a prolific writer and his articles frequently appear in *Urdu Samach*, *Qaumî Zikr*, *Urdu*, and other scholarly journals. His major publications include: *Urdu zikr ka itiqad* (1956), *Dasht-e-zikr-e-Urdu* (1960), *Lisani masail* (1962), *Urdu lisaniyat* (1966), etc. In his latest book he deals with the origin, structure, and orthography of the Urdu language. He claims that Urdu derives its origin from a particular and definite old language of the sub-continent called Prakrit, now extinct, and that developments in this Prakrit which later on led to the gradual creation of Urdu started taking place around 1500 B.C.

5. Maulvi Abdul Haq arrived in Lahore in March, 1948, in connection with the Urdu Conference at Lahore. During this visit to Pakistan he went to Karachi and established the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-e-Urdu Pakistan with headquarters at its present site. Sir Abdul Qadir, a pioneer in the promotion of Urdu in these parts of the sub-continent, was elected President of the Anjuman. In May, 1948, *Qaumî Zikr*, monthly journal of the Anjuman, was started. In January, 1949, Maulvi Abdul Haq migrated from Delhi to Karachi. After Sir Abdul Qadir's death later in the year Maulvi Abdul Haq was elected President of the Anjuman. He had succeeded in transferring a part of his library from Delhi and undoubtedly it is the most valuable collection of Urdu manuscripts, publications, and documents in Pakistan. Early in 1950 the Anjuman started its Urdu College, in which Urdu is used as the medium of instruction at all levels on the pattern of Delhi College and Osmania University. The recognition of the College by the University of Sind in July, 1950, was regarded as an important event in Pakistani education. The Anjuman set up its press and organised its publications programme. Several monographs were published in areas of Urdu as a medium of instruction, reform of the Urdu script, translation of scientific works, and technical terms in Urdu. Reprints and new editions of English-Urdu dictionaries (*Qanuni-i-Urdu*, *Asfiya*, *Kavirani alfiya*, and other publications of the Anjuman) were produced. And several new projects were completed, e.g.,

the collected writings of the famous 19th century French scholar of Urdu, Garcin de Tassy, were published in four volumes. The comprehensive bibliographical compendium *Qamus-i-Urdu*, which includes a detailed section on "Lisaniyat" (Linguistics) is in progress. The project of printing Maulvi Abdul Haq's *Lughat-i-Akhir Urdu* in eight volumes covering about 8,000 large sized pages is reported to be in hand. After Maulvi Abdul Haq's death in 1961, Akhtar Husain became the President and Jamiluddin Aali the Secretary of the Anjuman. In spite of various setbacks in recent years, the Anjuman is continuing its valuable services to the Urdu language.

6. In 1949 the provincial Government at Lahore established the Official Language Committee for preparing standardized official and court terms to enable Urdu to replace English as the official language. Hakim Ahmad Shuja was appointed full-time Secretary of the Committee. Justice S. A. Rahman of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Hamid Ahmad Khan, Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University; Mahmud Ahmad Khan, formerly of Osmania University; Syed Vigar Azim and Syed Vazirul Hasan Abadi of the University Oriental College; and other language scholars of Lahore were associated with the preparation of this monumental work. The dictionary of official terms and jurisprudence comprises 63,000 standard terms and would compare favourably with projects of similar scope undertaken anywhere. In 1964 Hakim Ahmad Shuja was awarded Honorary Life Membership by the LRGP. The citation also recognised the dedicated services of the Board of Translators and the Standardising Committee.

7. The Urdu Development Board, Karachi, was established in 1958 by the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan. Mumtaz Hasan is Chairman and Shanul Haq Haqqi is Secretary of the Board. The most important assignment of the Board has been the preparation of an Urdu dictionary on the pattern of the *New English Dictionary*. The principle followed by the Oxford dictionary and adopted by the Board is that of historical treatment of each word — current or obsolete — by tracing its etymology as well as subsequent forms and usages in successive periods of history through illustrative quotations with complete references. This dictionary is proposed to be the basis of smaller dictionaries and further linguistic research in the field. By now about 800,000 quotations have been compiled. About 200 scholars from different parts of Pakistan have served as readers and scrutineers. The compilation and writing of explanatory notes have gone on side by side. The first two volumes are now ready and have been revised by the Editorial Committee, which, *inter alia*, includes the heads of Urdu departments of all Pakistani universities. The third volume, which will cover material up to the eighth letter of the alphabet, will be ready by the end of 1966. Thereafter the Board proposes to complete two volumes per year and finish the work, comprising thirteen volumes in all, by 1972. A proposal for printing of the work has been submitted to the Government of Pakistan. Shaikat Sabzwari is the Editor of the Dictionary and has been engaged in this work from its

beginning. Eminent scholars like Shahidullah, Mumtaz Hasan, Shaukat Ikramullah, and Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi have been associated with the progress of this monumental work.

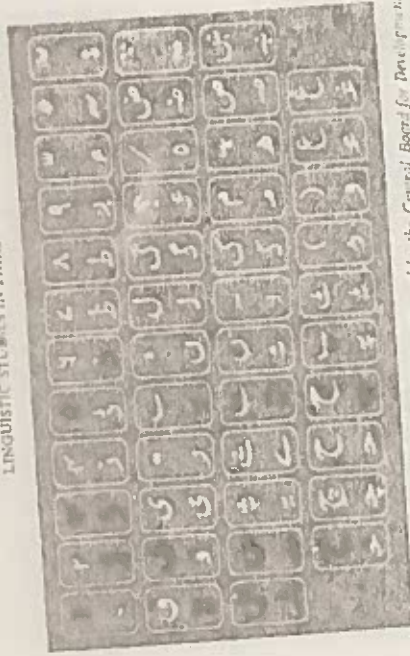
The Board has been regularly publishing its quarterly journal, *Urdu Namah*, and a major portion of the articles appearing in it are of linguistic interest. Each issue carries 20 to 24 pages of the draft of the dictionary. For example, let us have a look at the contents of a randomly picked issue (December, 1965) of *Urdu Namah*. Anwar Hugi's "Chand hickani masu in", pp. 15-26; Ismat Jaffery's "Lubb na lubb na: baggi boli ka ek namoon", pp. 27-34; Itrat Hussain Zuberi's "Taliq-i-lughat ka musla", pp. 46-48; Syed Qudrat Naqvi's "Mutahidul-asal lissani surmaya", pp. 56-60; Ghazanfar Amirahi's "Qawaid-o-imla ki buh", pp. 67-73; Shaukat Sabzwari's "Ishraqat", pp. 76-77; and the regular sixteen pages of *Urdu lughat* — XVI.

8. The Central Board for Development of Urdu, Lahore, was established in 1962, with Majed Malik as its Director. A. D. Azhar has been the Director since 1965.

In 1961, Maulana Abdul Qadir and Syed Anwarul Huq of the Pashto Academy submitted a proposal to the Board regarding a keyboard for an Urdu typewriter that would also meet the requirements of Pashto, Sindhi, and other languages of West Pakistan. The Board appointed a committee composed of Justice S. A. Rahman, Maulana Abdul Qadir, Hamid Ahmad Khan, N. A. Baloch, and Abu Lais Siddiqi. In December, 1962, M. Afzal of the Panjab University presented a paper in the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists in which he reviewed his experiments in improving the Urdu script and proposed a keyboard for a standard Urdu typewriter. Consequently, he was included in the Technical Committee which adopted the following principles:

1. The characters on the keyboard should be so arranged that frequently occurring letters are manipulated within the span of motions of such fingers as are capable of bearing the heaviest burden.
2. As far as possible, the work load of the two hands and of each finger should be homogeneous.
3. The letters should be so arranged that each finger travels as little distance as possible. (It may be mentioned here that the keyboard of English typewriters is very defective in this respect. In fact it is not scientifically arranged at all. According to one estimate an average typist hits 46,000 letters every day and the finger tips travel from 12 to 20 miles, although in a scientifically arranged keyboard based on motion economy and mathematical analysis this distance could be reduced to one mile or so.)
4. In order to ensure more speed, frequently occurring capital letters should be so arranged that the use of shift key is minimised. (Afzal, 1966, p. 1).

M. Afzal's recent article, quoted above, describes in detail the various stages of the project before this keyboard was approved by the Technical Committee. This standardised keyboard was sent to various typewriter manufacturing firms and



Standard Keyboard for Urdu Typewriters Designed by the Central Board for Development of Urdu, Lahore

finally the typewriter was manufactured by two firms in East Germany. Its use was inaugurated on August 21, 1966, by Kazi Anwarul Huq, Minister for Education, Government of Pakistan. The keyboard removes one major difficulty of Urdu typewriting in that all previously available Urdu typewriters, e.g., Remington, Everest, had different keyboards. It is yet to be seen whether it adequately meets the requirements of Pashto, Sindhi, and other languages of West Pakistan.

The Pakistan Times (Lahore), in its editorial of August 23, 1966, wrote:

The evolution of a keyboard for Urdu typewriters capable of adoption as the standard one is perhaps the most significant step towards the promotion of Urdu in recent times. A modern system of typography is an absolute must for a complete switchover to Urdu in education and business, official or otherwise, as well as for urgently necessary expansion of printing and publishing. ... The new keyboard undoubtedly fulfills one of our foremost typographical requirements: besides Urdu, it can be used for all the regional languages of West Pakistan. This is as it should be, because the promotion of national and regional languages should be coordinated as far as possible. The next and evidently more important step is to adopt effective measures to popularise the use of Urdu type.

In the September 4, 1966, issue of this newspaper one critic who claimed to be "an experienced typist" attacked the keyboard because, whereas the top line on most keyboards is reserved for numerals and diacritical marks, this keyboard has letters and marks spread out, a fact which will necessitate a new method of typing. He said that because the touch system cannot cover four lines — physical movement of the fingers is controlled in the three lower lines — this keyboard "will not enable a typist to gain a speed of more than 20 words per minute, which means that copyists of Radio Pakistan would continue to copy scripts faster than Urdu typists". M. Afzal's

article, quoted above, claims that all such factors were taken into consideration by the Technical Committee and it was found that: "i) the characters included in the fourth row are least frequent in the language, and ii) these characters are in the lower case and will be used without using the shift key, whereas if they are accommodated amongst other characters, they will have to be typed by using the shift key and thus reducing the speed". (Afzal, 1966, p. 11).

The second completed project of the Board is the compilation of *Baryadi urdu* (Siddiqi, 1965) by a committee headed by Abu Laïs Siddiqi. He was assisted in the project by five students he himself trained for the task. The book was published early this year and arrangements are being made to make it available in a number of other languages. The purpose of this study was to provide a core word list on the pattern of Basic English prepared by L. A. Richards.

The Board has recently set up a Script Committee with these terms of reference: "This Committee will take into consideration the available printed material on the development of Urdu script. After careful consideration, the Committee will suggest suitable pieces to be edited and translated in the form of a book". Director A. D. Azhar is the Governor of the Committee, which is comprised of Ahmad Hasan Dani of the University of Peshawar, Abu Laïs Siddiqi, and N. A. Baloch.

Abu Laïs Siddiqi has been entrusted with the compilation of a book on the evolution of the Urdu language. The book, proposed to be 500 to 750 pages long, will cover the evolution of the Urdu language from the earliest period of Indo-Aryan languages (about 1,500 B.C.) and bring it up to date as of the 1960's. Chapters have been assigned to Shaukat Satyawari, Chuliam Mustafa Khan, Pir Hussainuddin Rashid, Maudiana Abdul Qadir, Wahid Qureshi, Khwaja Hamiduddin Shahid, Sakhawat Mirza, Syed Vigar Azim, Syed Muhammad Abdullah, Tabir Farooqi, and Abu Laïs Siddiqi. The plan appears to be quite comprehensive.

Another project of the Board is the preparation of a two-volume comprehensive grammar of the Urdu language. It is proposed that the grammar will provide an outline of contrastive studies of Urdu and other regional languages of West Pakistan. Siddiqi and Satyawari have been entrusted with this project.

Another interesting project recently initiated is the compilation of a list of such words of regional languages as have no equivalents in Urdu but may be usefully introduced in the language. It is estimated that the list will have about 1,500 words from each of the languages covered in the project.

9. The Bureau of Composition, Compilation and Translation, University of Karachi, was established "to edit and standardise the existing technical terms, to coin new ones, and finally to compile dictionaries of technical terms of all subjects". (Hasan, 1965b, p. 124). According to the Director of the Bureau, Atiq Hasan, top priority has been given to technical terms. The Bureau "has not devised any new rules but has accepted the general principles enunciated and rules successfully applied by Delhi College, the Scientific Society, Jamia Osmania, Anjuman-e-Tarraqi-e-Urdu, and other

learned bodies" (Hasan, 1965b, p. 127). In describing this project I borrow freely from Atiq Hasan's article, quoted above, which describes the principles underlying this work.

(1) International technical terms, that is, those terms which are used exactly alike and without change in all the languages of the world, should not be translated. Such terms include, for example, symbols for chemical elements (O for oxygen, H for hydrogen), Latin names of order, genus, and species (*Musca domestica* — house fly — will remain *Musca domestica* written in Urdu script), and "rose" even though it has an Urdu name, "gulab", will be used as *Rosa indica* in technical writings), names of medicines and compounds (quinine, chloromycetin, sodium chloride, copper carbonate), and mathematical signs ($+$, \times , $=$, $\frac{1}{2}$).

(2) All other technical terms will be either translated or their equivalents coined; and in doing so the following rules are to be observed:

a. The technical terms should be suitable and concise. A term should be linguistically correct and give if not the whole at least part of its meaning. For example, جولائی for valency, اوسموسٹی for Osmosis, ایکس ریز for X-rays, وایرلس for wireless, فوتوگرافی for photography.

b. Words from Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, and other regional languages may be used wherever necessary, the only condition being that the words so selected are not absolutely unfamiliar.

c. European words and also words from other languages which have become part of the Urdu language and also those simple foreign words which have the capacity and suitability of becoming a part of our language may be used.

d. Old technical terms which are being freely used will not be changed unless their meanings have changed or a more suitable term can be coined. Even then the old ones will be kept along with the new one so that old science books may not become altogether incomprehensible.

e. The practice of changing a noun to a verb, for example,

عزل, "electrification" from عزل , "isolation" from عزل .

عزل, "nationalization" from عزل should be discouraged.

f. If necessary, compound words of Indo-Pakistani origin with Arabic or Persian may be made. If کیمیا and کیمیائی and similar other words can become respectable words there is no reason why this procedure cannot be extended to scientific terminology. For example, عزل is a good equivalent of the geological term "caliche".

Here عزل is Sanskrit and عزل is Arabic, joined together, it makes a good combination. Greek and Latin prefixes and suffixes are used extensively in scientific terminology. It is necessary and extremely important to have uniformity in their translation into Urdu. It has been agreed from the very beginning that "meter" will always be translated as میتر and all the technical terms ending in "meter" will end in میتر in Urdu, e.g., electrometer will be الیکٹرو میٹر , hydroscope ہائیڈرو میٹر , "graph" will be "scope" will be اسکوپ , e.g., electroscope الیکٹرو اسکوپ , "graph" will be

سج، e.g. oscillograph -تسجيل، seismograph -زلزله، "log" will be لوج، e.g. hydrology -هيدرولوجي، zoology -حيويات، climatology -مناخ، "oid" will be -، e.g. spheroid -كروي، crystalloid -بلالي، "ferous" will be -فروس، e.g. carboniferous -كربن، argentine -ارجنتيني.

The bureau has the fullest support of Vice-Chancellor Ishfaq Hussain Qureshi, who pioneered the decision of the University of Karachi whereby Urdu has been made "compulsory as a medium (at the college level) for the year 1965-66, and at the post-graduate level optional for 1965-66, compulsory from 1967-68" (Jamil, 1963, p. 41). The University of the Punjab has adopted a different approach. In 1965 it was decided to introduce Urdu as the medium of instruction in all its teaching departments and the affiliated colleges. The option was given to the teachers and students to take up English or Urdu as their medium. At the end of the academic year in May, 1966, the University authorities asked for reports from the heads of the departments and colleges about the measures adopted by them to introduce Urdu as the medium of instruction in M.A. classes. The reports were to cover details of the facilities offered to the teachers and students to do so. Separate reports were asked for regarding the teachers who are giving instruction in Urdu and English.²²

10. John J. Hamichak, G. M. Malik, and their colleagues at the Institute of Education and Research, University of the Punjab, Lahore, have just completed their four-year project designed to understand the functional Urdu vocabulary of school children in classes I-VIII. Oral language samples were collected from tape recordings of children in classes I through IV and written language samples based on compositions on an assigned topic from children in classes III-VIII. About 163 schools in West Pakistan were visited by the researchers and data were collected from over 9,000 children. Thus, over one and a half million running words of spontaneous language were analysed. The actual frequencies for each Urdu word used are presented according to region (Peshawar, Swat, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Sind, Quetta, and Karachi), oral and written language, class level, and sex with a separate listing of all verb forms represented in the sample. This material provides useful reference for those concerned with developing educational materials and language arts programs where vocabulary loads should be controlled. Though this was the major purpose for conducting the study, there are other specific analyses for which the data should prove useful, such as a comparison of language development of boys and girls, concept development in particular areas such as science or social studies, and regional comparisons or an analysis of vocabulary loads of existing educational materials. Since actual frequencies are used, additional samples of language can be collected and added directly to the existing data, thereby extending the representativeness of the sample and also providing some measure of language growth over the years. The results of the project are in press, according to a recent personal communication from Dr. Hamichak.

²² *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore, May 11, 1966).

11. Anwar S. Dil's tagmemic analysis (1963c) and his booklet (1964a) have been published in the *Pakistani linguistics series*. Syed Vazirul Haqin Abedi's unpublished paper, "Quantitative vowel gradation in Urdu and the teaching of rhythmical reading of verse", presented at the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists, is one of the most original contributions to Urdu linguistics. Abedi's problem, however, is that he publishes very little. Shaykh Inayatullah's interesting paper, "Urdu ka Turki unsur", presented at the First All-Pakistan Urdu Tadrees Conference held at Lahore in 1961, also remained unpublished. His "A project of an etymological dictionary of the Urdu language" has been published in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (1965). Ghulam Mustafa Khana, Professor and Head of Department of Urdu and Persian, University of Sind, Hyderabad, has collaborated with N. A. Baloch in projects on Urdu and Sindhi language which are described elsewhere. His monograph (1952) and his paper (1960) should be of interest to us. Syed Shabbir Ali Kazmi (1965) is a good glossary of common words in Urdu and Bengali. I should not forget to mention Saleem Farani's textbook on teaching of Urdu language, which is commonly used in teacher training institutions. Saleem Farani, formerly at the Central Training College, Lahore, is presently Principal of Teachers Training College, Karachi.

12. Among the works of Indian linguists, the following deserve special mention: Masud Husain Khan (1948) and (1955), and G. C. Narang (1961).

M. A. R. Barker of McGill University, who was with the Language Unit at Lahore from 1959 to 1961, was engaged in research on word count of Urdu based on texts from Pakistani newspapers.

The researches of V. M. Beskrovnyi, A. S. Barxudrov, A. V. Gherviskov, V. P. Lipetrovskij, G. A. Zograf, and other Russian specialists in Urdu Linguistics are not generally available to Pakistani linguists.

C. Panjabi

1. The Panjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore, was established in 1957. Muhammad Baqir (1910-), Principal, University Oriental College, is its Chairman. Baqir received his Ph.D. degree from SOAS in 1939. Among his papers are: Baqir (1956a, 1961a, 1961b, 1962).

The Academy, according to a recent report on its work since its establishment, has been mostly active in the field of Panjabi literature. It has published excellent editions of Panjabi classics like Maulvi Ghulam Rasul's *Akmal qasazi*, Mian Muhammad's *Safai mulook*, Waris-Shah's *Heer*, and *Kulliyat-i-hallie shah*.

The Chairman told me that the Academy is planning to undertake the preparation of a standard history of the Panjabi language, and a linguistically sound grammatical description of Standard Panjabi in Pakistan. Baqir has been the moving spirit

behind the Panjabi Conference (1960), the Pakistan Regional Languages Conference (1961), and the institution of annual seminars on Bulle Shah Day, Waris Shah Day, etc.

2. Hamid Ahmad Khan's paper (1963) was presented at the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists. While showing the similarities between the two languages, it aimed at presenting a model for "bringing out the inherent unity of various speech forms in Pakistan". Ifkhar Ahmad, Lecturer, Department of English, Panjab University, received his Master's degree in general linguistics from SOAS in 1962. His thesis (Ahmad, 1964) is one of the few scientific studies of the Panjabi language completed since 1947. He presented his findings at the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists. They were published in *Pakistani linguistics 1963*. Anwar S. Dil's unpublished paper, "The present status of Panjabi language in Pakistan" is now being revised for a meeting of the Research Committee on the Panjab (California, U.S.A.). *The Standard Panjabi dictionary*, which has been in preparation under the auspices of the Panjab Religious Book Society, Lahore, is reported to be ready for publication soon, and has written some papers on the subject.

3. Perhaps the best descriptive work on the Panjabi language has been done by H. S. Gill at the Hartford Seminary, U.S.A., under the guidance of H. A. Gleason. Gill (1960), his doctoral dissertation (1962a), and (1962b) — written in collaboration with H. A. Gleason and published in mimeographed form — are perhaps the best available descriptions of relations between tone and intonation in Panjabi, and Panjabi morphophonemics and syntax. Gill's findings regarding the "absolute freedom" of phrase order in Panjabi sentences, as presented in his dissertation, require a more critical review than is possible here. K. C. Bahl of the University of Chicago is another descriptive linguist whose investigations are noteworthy. Prominent among his writings are: (1957a, 1957b), and his unpublished recent researches which I had the privilege to see some time back. V. P. Vauk (1964), published in mimeographed form by the Colorado State University, uses Gurmukhi script and as such is not easily accessible to Pakistani scholars, who use the Perso-Arabic script. These readers, in spite of their limitations, represent the best work in the field and deserve wider use. Among the senior scholars, Mohan Singh Dewan's life-long interest to students of Panjabi linguistics. Harman Singh Shan, Professor and Head of Department of Panjabi, University of the Panjab, Chandigarh, whom I met recently, told me about the valuable work his colleagues are doing, but unfortunately I have not had access to their linguistic publications so far. The Panjabi manuals and grammars published from Patali, and V. B. Arun's *Panjabi bhāṣā ka itihās* published by the Panjab Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, are other notable works, but they are not generally available in Pakistan. Among Russian linguists, M. A.

Smirnov and N. Tolstaya have published excellent studies. Some of their works are available in the library of the Panjabi Adabi Board, Lahore.

D. Pashto

1. The Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar, was established in 1955 for development of the Pashto language, literature, and culture. Unlike other academies in Pakistan, the Pashto Academy is also a University teaching department which prepares students for the Master of Arts degree in Pashto. This responsibility was added to the Academy's functions in 1961. In the same year the Academy sent two of its scholars, Khayal Bokhari and Jahan Zeb Niaz, to the University of Michigan, where they worked with Herbert Paper, O. L. Chavarrin-Aguilar, and Herbert Penzl in the preparation of a Pashto dictionary and set of readers. Bokhari and Niaz completed their requirements for the Master of Arts degree in linguistics in 1962. Since their return they have written a few articles on teaching Pashto to speakers of English and short descriptive articles on Pashto language. These articles have been published in *Pashto*, quarterly journal of the Pashto Academy.

Maulana Abdul Qadir (1905-), director of the Academy, is one of the most influential language scholars of Pakistan. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Trilingual Pashto-Urdu-English Dictionary. Editor of the quarterly journal *Pashto*. Editor of the Central Board for Development of Urdu, and Member of the Advisory Council of the LRGP. Most of his writings are scattered as introductions, forewords, and editorials in various books and journals. In 1962 Maulana presented a proposal for establishing language and area institutes at various universities in Pakistan. The University of Peshawar has taken action on a part of the proposal and some scholars have been sent to the U.S.S.R., China, and other countries to receive education and training necessary to help build up suitable programmes at Peshawar.

Syed Anwarul Haque (1904-) is Research Officer and Editor of the Trilingual Dictionary which has been in preparation since the establishment of the Academy. About 9,000 words of the first letter of the alphabet "Aif" are in press. This will form the first volume of the dictionary. Work on about 2,000 words of the letter "Be" is nearing completion. It seems to me that the Academy needs to have more and better facilities placed at its disposal for the completion of this important project. Prominent among Haque's writings are: (1945),¹² (1949), (1958), and (1959).

Bashiruddin (1919-), Reader in English, University of Peshawar, received some linguistic training at the University of Leeds. His professional interest is in teaching English to Pashto speakers, but he has also been interested in problems of teaching Pashto and Urdu as second languages. His paper, "Remedial work in English

¹² Haque, Syed Anwarul, "Pashto rasmi khat", *Nur Panjwa* (Deshi, August 10, 1942) [Pashto, Pashto Script]; "Pashto han-e-shahji", *Ittehad-e-Afghan* (Ludhiana, 1943?) [Pashto, Pashto Alphabet].

pronunciation with Pashto-speaking post-graduate students" was published in *Pakistani Linguistics* 1962.

Qazi Hidayatullah of the Academy has revised Qazi Rahimullah's *Modern Pashto Instructor* (Hidayatullah, 1954), which is now available in two volumes. Khair Ghaznavi (1925-) of the University Department of Urdu has been interested in comparative studies of Hindi and Pashto, and Muhammad Nawaz Tahir (1934-) at the Academy, during the course of his collection of Pashto proverbs, became interested in comparative studies of Gujarati, Ajar, Kalami, and other languages of the area.

A seminar on Pashto was held last year under the auspices of the Academy. Four scholars from Afghanistan participated in it. One of the themes of the seminar was the development of Pashto linguistics. It is hoped that better collaboration between Pakistani and Afghan linguists will result in promoting scientific studies on Pashto language.

2. Among the publications of scholars in other countries the following are regarded very highly: Herbert Penzl (1943¹⁰, 1950, 1955, 1961), O. L. Chavarna-Aguller (1954, 1962, 1963), Eric P. Hamp (1957), and D. A. Shafiev (1964), translated and edited by Herbert H. Paper.

E. Sindhi

The main centers of linguistic research on Sindhi are the Department of Sindhi at the University of Sind, and the Sindhi Adabi Board, both at Hyderabad.

N. A. Baloch (1917-), Professor of Sindhi and Director of the Institute of Education, University of Sind, is the leader of research activities on Sindhi language, literature, and culture. He received his doctorate degree from Columbia University in 1949. Baloch is a most productive scholar and his publications number over two dozen. In collaboration with Ghulam Mustafa Khan, he compiled the *Sindhi-Urdu dictionary* (1959) and *Urdu-Sindhi dictionary* (1961). His short history of the Sindhi language was published in 1960 by the Sindhi Adabi Board.

The Sindhi Adabi Board was established in 1951. The project of *A comprehensive Sindhi dictionary of classical and current Sindhi*, which was entrusted to the Central Advisory Board of Control for Sindhi Literature in the early forties by the provincial Government of Sind and later abandoned, was taken up by the Sindhi Adabi Board. Baloch was entrusted with a three-year contract to finish the dictionary. The work started in January, 1952, but in view of the time limit imposed the entire project was re-laid. However, because the printing could not be started till November, 1958, the manuscript remained under constant revision during this period. This dictionary

¹⁰ Herbert H. Paper: "A post in the morphology of the Pashto (Afghan) verb", *Studies in Linguistics* 1:101-4 (1947).

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has drawn on about 450 published works representing different subjects, all the dictionaries and glossaries of the Sindhi language, unpublished literary works not covered in Mirza Qalich Beg's *Lughat-i-qadimi*,¹⁰ lexicographical manuscripts of Akhund Abdul Rahim Abbasi, Maulvi Ali Muhammad Maheri, Lala Hasanand, and the manuscript of the abandoned dictionary, which covered the first four letters. About one hundred field workers were stationed in rural areas during the first year of the project. They collected items from the actual speech representing various dialects. The researchers travelled extensively throughout the Sindhi-speaking areas and collections were made through meetings with village elders, village poets, the *sughars* (the traditional bards and rhapsodists), farmers, artisans, etc. It may be of interest to know that the dictionary contains about 250 words and phrases connected with date-palm raising and harvesting, fifty names for sweet-water fishes, 120 names of marine fishes, more than 100 terms pertaining to the boat and its parts, 45 connected with the traditional waterwheel, etc. Baloch's valuable introduction which describes the project in detail, is reprinted in *Studies in Pakistani Linguistics* (1965).

Ali Nawaz Hajan Khan Jatui, Reader and Head of the University Department of Sindhi, was until recently at the SOAS completing his work for a degree in general linguistics. Ghulam Ali Allana received his Master's degree in general linguistics from SOAS in 1964 and is at present associated with the Sindhi Adabi Board. His *Sindhi suratakhani* (1964) is a good introductory monograph to Sindhi philology. J. G. Bordie, an American linguist, was in Hyderabad some years back. His doctoral dissertation, *A descriptive Sindhi phonology*, completed at the University of Texas (1958), is one of the best works on Sindhi.

L. M. Khubchandani's doctoral dissertation (1963), completed at the University of Pennsylvania under the guidance of Henry M. Hoenigswald, is undoubtedly an excellent study of an interesting aspect of the post-independence language mix-up on the sub-continent. It presents the case of Sindhi immigrants from West Pakistan to India in the context of their increasing bilingualism. Khubchandani's outline contrastive sketch of Sindhi and Hindi is a valuable piece of work. His findings show that the distribution pattern of Sindhi phonemes has been affected to a considerable extent. For example, the Perso-Arabic borrowed sounds /x, v, q/ are fast losing their distinctiveness, and are practically lost in the speech of the younger generation. The use of pronominal suffixes is gradually declining in formation pattern. A number of Hindi prefixes and suffixes have affected the word formation pattern of Sindhi. Also word borrowings have affected the Sindhi lexicon in a number of ways: through the creation of homonymy and synonymy, the loss of existing items, the creation of translation compounds and of cognate doublets.

¹⁰ Beg Mirza Qalich, *Philological curiosities* (Hyderabad, Sindhi, 1911); *Lughat-e-Ladifi* (Sukkur, Sindhi, 1914) [A Sindhi dictionary of difficult words in the *Shah-jin-risalo* arranged according to cursi]; *Sir-i-Lughat-e-Qadimi* (Hyderabad, Sindhi, 1924) [Sindhi Dictionary of classical Sindhi words in the works of ten classical Sindhi poets].

F. Other languages

Very little work has been done on other languages in Pakistan.

On Gujarati hardly any linguistic work has been done in Pakistan. The work of George Cardona of the University of Pennsylvania, is highly esteemed. The most valuable recent contributions to Gujarati linguistics have been made by P. B. Padi and his colleagues in India.

The Balochi Academy, Quetta, established sometime back, has mainly aimed at collecting the oral literature for which Balochi is most widely known. A Balochi-L Urdu dictionary is in the planning stage.

M. A. R. Barker's research on Brahui while he was with the Language Unit at Lahore has not been published so far. Muhammad Anwar Roomani (1974-), formerly a Professor of History at the Government College, Quetta, has published some general studies like "The Barikhus of Quetta Kalat region" (1960) which may be read with interest. Murray B. Emeneau's interest in Brahui dates back to 1937, when he published "Phonetic observations on the Brahui language",²¹ based on his field work in the area. During the period under review he has published "Brahui demonstrative pronouns" (1961) and *Brahui and Dravidian comparative grammar* (1962).

On Shina, Muhammad Shuja Naimus (1900-), formerly Principal of Ismail College, Bhakkar, has published a voluminous book in Urdu (1961), his two articles (1963, 1965) have been published in recent volumes in the *Pakistani linguistics series*. Hermann Berger of Heidelberg University has contributed a valuable study (1966) in a recent LRGP publication, *Shichidlich presentation volume*. John C. Carford of the University of Michigan is at present working on a paper on the Nagari dialect of Butshaki for the next volume in the *Pakistani linguistics series*.

There exists a fairly good tradition of Persian studies in areas comprising West Pakistan. The University Oriental College especially has been a major seat of research on the Persian language. During the period under review Syed Muhammad Abdullah (1950, 1958), and Muhammad Baqir (1954, 1958, 1960, 1961), deserve mention here. Syed Vazirul Hasan Abedi (1913-), Reader in Spoken Persian, is one of the best scholars of Persian linguistics in Pakistan. His publications (1954, 1962, 1965) are valuable contributions to Persian language studies. Among his unpublished works are: *The influence of Avestic phrases on the Persian language*, and *Linguistic affinities between Urdu and Avestic, Old Persian and Pahlavi*. Abdul Shakoor Ahsan (1916-), Reader in Persian, has published a number of valuable papers (1957, 1958, 1963, 1964). Waheed Qurashi (1925-), of the Department of Urdu, has published an interesting study, "The Indian Persian" in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (1965). He has been working for some time on a monograph on teaching Persian as a second language in Pakistan, to be published by the LRGP. F. D. Razi (1914-), Professor of ²¹ Emeneau, Murray B., "Phonetic observations on the Brahui language", *IOSAS* 8:4 (1961) 981 (1937).

Persian, Government College, Lahore, has compiled a useful Persian-Urdu and Urdu-Persian desk dictionary. Ghulam Mustafa Khan's monograph, *Farsi par Urdu ka azar*, has been mentioned earlier. Fathollah Mojabai of the Ministry of Education, Iran, is a Life Member of the LRGP. He participated in the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists and his paper, "A brief survey of the history of Persian language and its development", is included in *Pakistani linguistics 1963*.

Shaykh Inayatullah (1901-), formerly Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Government College, Lahore, is an eminent Pakistani scholar of the Arabic language. His paper, "The teaching of Arabic in Pakistan", is published in *Pakistani linguistics 1963*. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the LRGP. Serajul Haq, Professor of Arabic, University of Dacca, presented a paper on the teaching of Arabic in East Pakistan at the UNESCO International Seminar on "The contribution of the teaching of modern languages towards education for living in a world community" held at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, in 1953. The late Maulvi Muhammad Shaif, Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam in Urdu*, and Abdul Aziz Memon, whose services have been recently acquired by the Punjab University as Professor and Head of the Department of Arabic, are internationally known Arabic scholars but their work does not fall within the scope of this review.

In the field of English language, Anwar S. Dil's monograph (1966a) reviews in detail relevant linguistic activity in Pakistan.

Among the unpublished theses of those who received their linguistic training at the School of Applied Linguistics, University of Edinburgh, the following may be mentioned: M. A. Jafari (1959), Muhammad Tufail (1960), Ruzayya Hasan (1961), S. A. H. Hashmi (1962), and S. Hashmi (1963).

Muhammad H. Usmani (1922-), Reader, College of Education, University of Peshawar, received his doctorate degree from the Texas Technological College, Lubbock, in 1965. His dissertation, (Usmani, 1965) is a valuable study of the present status of teaching of English in classes 6, 7, and 8 in the Peshawar Region. It presents an outline contrastive study of English and Urdu and points out major phonological teaching problems. It may be of interest to note that Usmani's survey based on the responses of 154 teachers to a question suggesting five possible objectives in teaching English in classes 6, 7, and 8 in the region showed (p. 158):

To finish the textbooks	73
To prepare for examinations	96
To help pupils to read and write	118
To help pupils to understand spoken and written English	90
To help pupils to speak and write English	88
Any other	0

It is obvious that many of the objectives for which English is being taught in actual practice are unound. Regarding the methods of teaching English, Usmani's table (p. 158) is as follows:

Aural-Oral	29
Grammar-translation	115
Direct Method	74
Others (Practice Method, etc)	6

Usmani's findings show:

... the most widely used is the grammar-translation method, followed by the Direct Method. From their responses to about a dozen questions on methods, the teachers indicated that they teach vocabulary through the translation of isolated words, prescriptive grammar by deductive methods, composition by discussing the topic in the mother tongue and then translating it into English. They do not adequately emphasize the teaching of spoken English and completely ignore the teaching of listening skills.¹²

No audio-visual aids and supplementary teaching materials are used and the blackboard is about the only visual aid used. About the qualifications of teachers, the survey showed that 40 per cent of the teachers had Bachelor's degrees, 5 per cent Master's degrees, and only 23 per cent had the Bachelor in Teaching or Education degrees.

Anwar S. Dil's *English language teaching in Pakistan* is in press. He is currently engaged in research on the role of English as an official language in the developing countries of Afro-Asia with special reference to Pakistan. Ruqayya Husain, who received her Ph.D. degree from the University of Edinburgh for her work on linguistic analysis of literary texts, is currently engaged in research at the Communications Research Centre, University of London.

4. PLANS, PROBLEMS, AND PROSPECTS

A

In this section a brief account is presented of various institutional and individual efforts, since 1947, to organize linguistic studies in Pakistan on a regular and on-going basis with proper academic status vis-à-vis the national universities.

1. The first major educational conference in Pakistan was held at Karachi in December, 1953, to discuss the Six-Year National Plan of Educational Development. The following suggestions were made for the development of Urdu as a national and official language:

... the preparation of suitable administrative terminology, the simplification of the current Urdu script to meet the examination requirements of all provinces and states, to compile standard works such as a Urdu encyclopedia, Urdu Lexicon, and [a] history of Urdu language and

¹² M. A. H. Usmani, "Teaching English as a foreign language", *Arabic* 28 (Karachi, September, 1965).

literature and to arrange for the translation of standard foreign works into Urdu. To attain these objects, it is proposed to establish an Urdu Academy at Karachi.¹³

The Six-Year National Plan of Educational Development for Pakistan which was the result of the deliberations of the Educational Conference has a definite provision for an Institute of Foreign Languages. The Institute was planned for 1952-53 and Rs. 1,025,000.00 were provided for it in the budget.¹⁴ Whereas projects pertaining to the Urdu language were later taken in hand by various agencies described earlier, no action was taken on the proposed Institute.

2. In 1955, Urdu and Bengali were declared the two national languages of Pakistan along with English as an interim official language. The Language-Teaching Conference held at Karachi in March, 1957, was sponsored by the Ministry of Education of the Government of Pakistan with the assistance of the British Council and the Ford Foundation. The Conference was called to examine the situation of language-teaching in Pakistan, with special reference to Urdu, Bengali, and English, and to recommend schemes that would improve their teaching and use. It was recognised that Bengali and Urdu have not been given as much advanced linguistic and philological attention as they deserve. The Conference, therefore, particularly considered, among other matters, the following topics:

- (a) 1. Should Linguistics Departments be established at some or all Universities? If so, what should be their functions?
2. Should the new methods of training language teachers be introduced only in the teacher-training establishments, or are there other institutions as well, e.g., some key colleges, that should be brought in?
3. Should an organised scheme of refresher courses be designed for present teachers of languages?
- (b) 1. What Pakistani resources and overseas assistance would be required to implement a scheme, or schemes, drafted along the above lines? How should the scheme be coordinated and administered?

The Chairman of the Conference, Minn Muhammad Afzal Husain, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, in his presidential address surveyed the language situation in the context of the respective claims of English, the national languages, and regional languages of Pakistan.

In the second plenary session the Education Minister of Pakistan raised the issue of the development of Urdu and Bengali as national languages so that they can serve as the medium of instruction at all levels of national education. He highlighted the instructional medium problem, teaching of Bengali in West Pakistan and of Urdu in East-Pakistan, the question of script, and "whether our loanwords should

¹³ Government of Pakistan, Education Division, *Proceedings of the Educational Conference*, Karachi, December 4-5, 1951, (Karachi, 1956) p. 468.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 466.

¹⁵ Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, *Proceedings of the Language-Teaching Conference*, Karachi, March 20-22, (Karachi, 1957) p. 1.

be constituted from Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit, or whether we should simply take over international terms."

Vice-Chancellor Husain, in his final report on the Conference, said: "There is need in Pakistan for the development of linguistic science both in research and in application to practical problems of teaching."¹⁸ He summed up the recommendations of the four committees, which confirmed the demand of experts for early establishment of departments of linguistics, linguistic training of the faculty of teachers training colleges, and in-service training programs in applied linguistics. The Conference recommended "[obtaining] assistance from overseas scholars in general linguistics and specialists in applied linguistics", "overseas training of Pakistan teachers and students", "establishing seminars and workshops in Pakistan to be attended by Pakistan scholars and teachers", "in-service staff training activities and [to] encourage experimental projects", etc.¹⁹

The first Committee of the Conference, in its proposal for departments of general linguistics in universities, made the following recommendations:

At least two departments of General Linguistics to be established, one in each wing of Pakistan. It is suggested that the scope and functions of these departments be as follows:

1. Protection and organization of research in the principal branches of General Linguistics.
2. General Linguistics to be taught to post-graduate students. Research and teaching should include the following: a) Phonetics and Phonology, b) Grammar, c) Lexicography, d) Textual Analysis, e) Translations.

The Linguistics Departments would give attention, *inter alia*, to the following:

1. Study of parallelism in the vocabulary and structure of English, Urdu, Bengali, and other languages of Pakistan.
2. The application of results of linguistic analysis in the teaching of English, Urdu, Bengali, and other languages of Pakistan.
3. Surveys of selected groups of dialects of Pakistan languages.
4. The study of the scripts of Pakistan languages in relation to printing and other methods of reproduction.
5. Study of the language of the Holy Quran with reference to vocabulary and phraseology.
6. Certain aspects of the problems of translation.

In connection with the establishment of Departments of General Linguistics, the following suggestions were made:

1. The holding of seminars in Pakistan in association with scholars in General Linguistics from abroad. Each seminar may be of about two months' duration.
2. a) Training Programme: Twenty post-graduate students, preferably in small groups, be sent abroad for a three-year course leading to a higher degree in General Linguistics. b) Senior Pakistan scholars already working in the universities or affiliated colleges be granted such facilities as will enable them to pursue higher studies in General Linguistics abroad.
- c) Provision be made for visiting Professors and Lecturers for periods of not less than

¹⁸ Ibid. 4.
¹⁹ Ibid. 5.

one session. It would be preferable if one senior Professor and one Lecturer selected by him were invited together.

3. Establishment of Departments: The establishment of the departments of linguistics will be possible on the availability of visiting Professors and Lecturers and trained Pakistan personnel. It is expected that after the first five-year period each department might have, in addition to the Head of the Department, a staff of at least four lecturers.

4. Initial requirements: Specialist libraries for seminars, two typewriters with movable keyboards, duplicator machines and materials, tape recorder, radiograms, adequate office staff.

5. One Phonetics Laboratory to be attached to Department. A trained Pakistan technician (at least an I.Sc. with Physics) will be required.²⁰

The second Committee concerned with the strengthening of language-teaching techniques underlined the need for contrastive linguistic studies, utilization of the results of research in linguistics, the linguistic training of trainers of language teachers, and the need for pilot experimentation in selected institutions.

The third Committee proposed the establishment of refresher courses for language teachers. The proposal emphasized the need for including subjects like general nature and functions of language, practical work on phonetics, etc. It was proposed that such courses should be carried on for a period of one to three months at Lahore, Peshawar, Hyderabad, and Karachi in West Pakistan, and Dacca, Mysmeningh, and Rajshahi in East Pakistan, or through the Education Extension Centers which were at that time included in the Five-Year Plan. It was proposed that not more than 30 trainees in English and 30 in one of the other two languages should be dealt with during each in-service course. The Committee recognised that the training in a course of this nature would have to be given by specialists in language-teaching with some knowledge of linguistics. To provide a sufficient number of in-service courses it would be necessary to train teaching staff for them. It was recommended that each such centre should have "two permanent teacher-trainers, one a specialist in English and the other a specialist in one of the other languages, either or both of them also being trained in linguistics and methodology of language-teaching". Seven such trainers were proposed to be trained overseas and the remaining in Pakistan at an intensive summer school organised with the assistance of overseas agencies. A recommendation for minimum equipment for the purpose was also made.²¹

The fourth Committee, which considered corollary questions, dealt at length with the teaching of Bengali in West Pakistan and the teaching of Urdu in East Pakistan. It suggested that "Urdu for Bengali-speaking children and Bengali for non-Bengali-speaking children should be included in the curriculum of the secondary schools as optional subject" and that adequate provision should be made by the universities for such facilities at the post-secondary stages. The Committee recommended the institution in the universities of one year's certificate courses in Bengali and Urdu for speakers of other languages who require it for purposes of business or administration.

²⁰ Ibid. 5-7.
²¹ Ibid. 8-10.

These languages were recommended to be taught as second languages in the light of recent developments in the principles and methods of language learning and language teaching. The Committee suggested the following research projects in this connection:

1. Preparation of a vocabulary common to Urdu and Bengali and words and expressions of highest frequency.
2. Analysis of the structure of sentences in Urdu and Bengali in order to find out the extent of similarities and dissimilarities among them.
3. Analysis of Urdu and Bengali grammars to find out the common elements between them and the peculiarities of each.
4. Compilation:
 - a) Bengali-Urdu Dictionary.
 - b) Urdu-Bengali Dictionary.
 - c) A set of supplementary readers which may serve as follow-up books for neo-literates in Urdu and Bengali as the case may be. They should also sell at subsidised rates.
5. The Committee also feels that special attention should be given to teacher training and, therefore, makes the following recommendations:
 - a) Revival of Adib and Adibi-Kamil courses for Urdu teachers in the Dacca University, the former one a year's certificate course and the latter a one year's diploma course in continuation.
 - b) Introduction of the same courses in Rajshahi University.
 - c) Institution of similar courses for teachers of Bengali in the universities of West Pakistan.
 - d) Inclusion of the method of teaching of Urdu or Bengali, as the case may be, in the Training Colleges of both the wings.
 - e) Organisation of short courses of training.⁴⁰
3. A direct outcome of the Language-Teaching Conference was the establishment, in 1958, of the Language Unit at the University of the Punjab, Lahore. (A similar unit was to be set up at the University of Dacca but mainly because of financial problems it could not be established.) Norman Denison, a British linguist, was appointed as Professor of English Language and Applied Linguistics at the Language Unit. He also served as its Director.

Denison set about the prime research task of comparison of English with Urdu and Panjabi, and the establishment of a phonetics laboratory. After expiration of his two-year term he returned to Glasgow University. He was succeeded by P. A. D. MacCarthy, Reader in Phonetics at Leeds University. Although the Unit was given an excellent start by Denison and Colin Baly, it did not fulfill its promise. For a time the Unit helped the University in drawing up the syllabus and preparing mimeographed materials for a compulsory paper for B.A., B.Sc., and B.Commerce students for the first two years of the new three-year degree course. This paper was aimed at remedial and functional English and the materials were later to form a textbook. However, the problems that developed at the Unit compelled the University to close it down in 1962.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 10-12.

D. Y. Morgan of the British Council, who was in Lahore during this period and had first-hand knowledge on the subject, evaluates the work of the Unit as follows:

I am afraid the Language Unit did not get much done beyond the elementary contrastive phonological studies and I don't know what they published, if anything, as a result of this part of their work. M. A. R. Barker did a word frequency count of Urdu newspaper vocabulary in order to contrast teaching materials for foreign learners of Urdu but his texts ran to less than 200,000 words, so I don't believe his results would have much practical validity.

To me the best work ever done by the Language Unit was done by Colin Baly when it first started in 1958. He constructed a pre-University English course for Chemistry students after studying first-year Chemistry textbooks. Unfortunately he had to leave through illness and nobody took over his work. But it has inspired the Central Institute of English, Hyderabad, India, to do similar work on a bigger scale, for first-year university science students.⁴¹

Some idea of the reasons underlying the unfortunate Language Unit failure can be had from the following remarks by Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan during the course of his presidential address in the Symposium on Development of Linguistic Studies and Research in Pakistan held at Lahore in January, 1964, under the auspices of the LRGP:

We had a Language Unit in the University of the Punjab for over five years. ... The experiment, as I called it, failed, partly because it did not link itself vitally with the colleges. ... Somehow the Language Unit so withdrew its activities into itself that, apart from the immediate neighbourhood of this department inside the university, people outside did not know much of what was happening and naturally enough, did not derive much benefit either. Also difficulty arose, I think, because most of the work was concentrated upon the teaching of English and the techniques of teaching English were not extended to the teaching of national and regional languages. Had we started work on the languages of this area, Panjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and Urdu, perhaps the work of the Language Unit could have proved more fruitful.⁴²

The closing of the Language Unit has been a serious setback to linguistic studies in the country.

4. Another outcome of the Language-Teaching Conference was the establishment of Language Sections at the Education Extension Centres at Dacca and Lahore. Afia Dill and Muhammad Muhiyuddin from Dacca and Anwar S. Dil and Naheed Aly from Lahore received an 18-month training at the University of Michigan under this scheme. According to Charles G. Fries of the University of Michigan, who as consultant of the Ford Foundation was one of the authors of the scheme, "The training programme was designed to equip the trainees to take a leading part in the development of practical programs of language teaching as well as to deal with the whole range of basic language problems in Pakistan education". One of the main

⁴¹ D. Y. Morgan in his personal communication of May 30, 1966, to Anwar S. Dil.

⁴² Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan, "Presidential Address, Symposium on the Development of Linguistic Studies and Research in Pakistan", *Pakistani Linguistics* 1963 276-277 (Lahore, 1964).

tasks of the Language Sections was envisaged as: "training of a group of more mature English teachers who themselves might be able to provide in-service education for the large numbers of English teachers in the nation".

Afta Dil and Muhammad Mehruddin gave a good start to the Language Section at Dacca but after six months Afta Dil left Dacca to join the Lahore Centre and Mehruddin left the Centre to accept an administrative position. Nofeed Ali, at the Lahore Centre had resigned earlier and left for the U.S.A. The Language Section at Dacca thus lost the trained services of both Language Specialists. The Lahore Section, however, started its in-service education and training program for selected groups of language teachers, headmasters and headmistresses, and teacher-trainers. Through conferences, seminars, lecture tours, and workshops held at Peshawar, Swat, Abbottabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Quetta, Karachi, and other places in West Pakistan, the two Language Specialists helped in introducing the elements of linguistic science to language teachers and other field workers. This project was strengthened when the provincial government opened three Regional Education Extension Centres at Abbottabad, Khairpur and Karachi. A Language Instructor was appointed at each of the centres. These Language Instructors received intensive training for their task at the Language Section.

The courses conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Dil were oriented toward "Applied linguistics in English language teaching". The program broadly covered the following areas: 1) Basic concepts of language, basic principles of language learning, basic principles of language teaching, teaching of English as a second language, teaching of English in secondary schools of multilingual West Pakistan, the language situation in Pakistan. 2) An introduction to English language, the sound system of English, the structure of English, the writing system of English, the English lexicon. 3) The curriculum of English in secondary schools of West Pakistan, teaching materials and training of English teachers. 4) How to teach structure, how to teach vocabulary, how to teach pronunciation, improvement of pronunciation, pattern practice, how to teach poetry, how to teach composition. 5) Language testing, preparation of tests, lesson planning, practice and demonstration lessons. 6) Individual and small group sessions for improvement of the actual language control of the trainees through the use of tape recorders, films, and pronunciation drill sessions.

The entire training program was built round three major objectives: 1) To acquaint the trainees with the basic principles of modern linguistic science with special reference to the teaching and learning of English as a second language. 2) To introduce the trainees to scientific methodology of teaching English in the secondary schools of West Pakistan. 3) To improve the control of the trainees on English language — both spoken and written — so that they could serve as better models for their students. This approach was tried in a training course for teachers of Urdu in the Pilot secondary school. Unfortunately, however, this project also suffered because other facilities which were part of the original scheme, e.g., mechanical equipment, library and publication facilities, and additional staff were not provided in adequate measure to

meet the challenge of the work. In 1965, Mr. and Mrs. Dil left for the U.S.A. for higher studies in linguistics. Meanwhile M. A. Jaffery of the Central Training College, Lahore, has been appointed as Language Specialist.

5. The LRGP was founded in August, 1961, for promoting linguistic studies and research in Pakistan and popularising studies in Pakistani languages in other countries. Anwar S. Dil is the Founder-Director of this private, nonprofit professional organization of persons interested in Pakistani linguistics. From the beginning the LRGP has been planned to be both a national and international organization for coordinating research and publication programs of scholars active in the field of Pakistani languages and linguistics. The term "Pakistani linguistics" covers the work of Pakistani linguists and language scholars — even if it deals with languages or linguistic subjects outside Pakistan, and the work of scholars in other countries on Pakistani languages or linguistic issues.

The first project of the LRGP was the compilation of *A directory of Pakistani linguists and language scholars* (Dil, 1962). The project was started in 1961, and a questionnaire was sent to about one hundred language scholars (not all of them linguists in the technical sense) in both parts of Pakistan in order to collect the following information: mailing address, permanent address, date and place of birth, educated at (institutions), positions held, present position, first language, other languages, visits and travels, conferences, commissions and committees, linguistic specialties, professional publications, unpublished work, and research in progress. The information was gathered through correspondence, personal interviews, and use of published materials, etc. After necessary editing, information on 58 scholars was published in book format in June, 1962. This 68-page *Directory* has been fairly widely distributed in Pakistan, the U.S.A., Great Britain, Japan, India, Holland, Germany, and other countries. Work on the revised edition of the *Directory* is in progress and it is hoped that under its new title, *A roster of Pakistani linguists*, it will be published by 1969.

On the basis of the bibliographical information gathered through work on the *Directory*, plans were made to hold the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists. The three-day conference was held at Lahore on December 30-31, 1962, and January 1, 1963. The conference was inaugurated by Justice S. A. Rahman, Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. A message was sent to the conference by Mohammed Ali, Minister for External Affairs of Pakistan. Muhammad Shahidullah and Maqbul Muhammad Shah were awarded Honorary Life Memberships in recognition of distinguished services to Pakistani linguistics. The papers presented at the Conference were later published in book form: *Pakistani linguistics 1962*.

The Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists was held in January, 1964. Charles A. Ferguson and Hakim Ahmad Shuja were awarded Honorary Life Memberships for their distinguished services to Bengali and Urdu respectively. The last day of the Conference was reserved for the Symposium on Development of Linguistic Studies and Research in Pakistan. Charles A. Ferguson (U.S.A.), J. G. Burton-Page,

Lais Siddiqi. Plans are reported to have been afoot for sometime to raise this Certificate course to Diploma level.

In the meantime, the Department of English has added a language laboratory to its existing facilities. Also, in the meeting of the University Board of Studies in English held on November 7, 1964, it was resolved that:

... the Academic Post M.A. Diploma in Linguistics and Language Teaching be introduced from the session 1965-66 and that it should consist of the following courses:

1. Course A. Paper I General Linguistics
Paper II Structure of English — Historical and Linguistic Study
Paper III Phonetics — Theoretical and Practical
Paper IV Stylistics
Paper V Methods of Teaching English with special reference to the use of Applied Linguistics in the methods of teaching English and the teacher in charge of the diploma course
 2. Course B. A dissertation to be approved by the Professor of English and the teacher in charge of the diploma course
 3. Course C. Practice Teaching
- It was further resolved that this Diploma be recognised by the University authorities as a special qualification for Assistant Lecturers in the University and Lecturers in colleges worthy of consideration for advancement and promotion.⁴¹
- I do not know how far these resolutions have been implemented.

8. In 1962, the Education Department of the Government of West Pakistan prepared a *Project report on the improvement of English at secondary and intermediate levels*. The report was prepared by Qazi Muhammad Zarif, then Inspector of Schools, Lahore Division, and D. Y. Morgan, English Language Officer of the British Council, Lahore. It was proposed to establish an English Language Teaching Institute for teachers of English for holding long-term courses in the teaching of English. Though it was proposed to exclude theoretical linguistics and psychology from the day-to-day syllabus of the three-month courses, evening lectures, film shows, and library materials were to take care of this aspect for interested individuals and groups. It was hoped that "such an institute might well prove the nucleus of a much bigger institute and the model for similar institutes. A large institute might have on its staff a professional linguist and a professional psychologist and concern itself with research and the production of teaching materials".⁴² No action has been taken on this project.

9. Anwar S. Dil's *A detailed scheme for a national language laboratory in Pakistan* was presented at the 14th All-Pakistan Science Conference held at Peshawar in March, 1962. The laboratory was proposed to serve as a teaching, research, and training unit for the language laboratories to be established in different parts of the country in

⁴¹ Cycled typeset minutes of a meeting of the Board of Studies in English, University of Karachi, held on November 7, 1964, pp. 1-2.

⁴² Government of West Pakistan, Education Department, *Project report on the improvement of teaching of English at secondary and intermediate levels* (Lahore, 1962) p. 24.

D. Y. Morgan, and T. D. Pearson (Great Britain), Fathollah Mojtabai (Iran), and leading Pakistani linguists participated in the symposium. The papers presented at the Conference and the verbatim record of the Symposium were later published in book form: *Pakistani linguistics 1963*.

The LRGP has since published four other books: *Readings in modern linguistics* (Dil, 1964b); Anwar S. Dil's monograph, *An outline of Urdu sentence structure* (Dil, 1964a); *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (Dil, 1965); and its best publication so far, *Shahidullah presentation volume* (Dil, 1966), in which fourteen research papers on various Pakistani languages have been contributed by eminent scholars. *Selected writings of Muhammad Shahidullah* is in press. The bulletin of the group, *LRGP Reporter*, has now been planned to appear in the *Pakistani linguistics series* in printed monograph format. Other books planned in the series include *Contributions to Urdu linguistics*, *Contributions to Sindhi linguistics*, etc.

There are about forty Life Members of the LRGP and it is beginning to grow and exercise a good influence in the development of linguistic studies and research in Pakistan.

6. The Conference of the Heads of Universities of the SEATO countries, meeting at Karachi in 1961, emphasized the need for scientific studies in the languages of the area:

Resolution 27. There is a need for the study at an advanced level of South-East Asian languages in the universities of the area. This need can be met in one or several of the following ways:

- a) by the establishment of an institute of South-East Asian languages in a suitable place, e.g., Bangkok;
- b) by the establishment of centers of higher language study in each of the countries of the area;
- c) by the encouragement of appropriate language studies in the universities of the area;
- d) by the use of student and staff exchanges as a means of encouraging advanced language study.

Resolution 28. SEATO should assist with the development of language teaching in the universities of the area.⁴³

Abu Lais Siddiqi of the University of Karachi was later asked to tour the areas and submit a report to SEATO. I have not seen this report but I understand there are a number of recommendations which have direct bearing on the development of linguistic studies in the area. I do not know what plans, if any, have been made for the implementation of various proposals so far as Pakistan is concerned.

7. At the University of Karachi, a modest language center has been functioning as part of the Department of Urdu since 1961. In it about half a dozen post-graduate students have been receiving linguistic training each year under the guidance of Abu

⁴³ SEATO, *Report of the Conference of Heads of Universities*, University of Karachi, January 25, February 1, 1961 (Karachi, 1961), p. 19.

future years. The scheme aimed at reorganising and overhauling language research, preparation of linguistically sound teaching materials in Pakistani and foreign languages, and preparation of teacher trainers in the proper use of these materials in collaboration with agencies already responsible for such tasks by providing one central unit for purposes of coordination and avoiding duplication in view of the already scarce resources of the country. The proposed functions of the National Language Laboratory include the holding of intensive courses aiming at intensive study and training in language laboratory theory and practice with practical demonstration of methods and materials. Seminars on special aspects of Language Laboratory as a Teaching-Aid Machine were to be held from time to time for dissemination of the latest knowledge in the field and coordinating research and publication programs. Prominent linguists, language scholars, language teachers, teacher trainers, and educationists were to be brought together twice a year to evaluate the progress and research in progress and to suggest improvements. The publication of articles, monographs, and books, preparing and making available tape-recordings and records for use in Pakistan and abroad; and maintaining an up-to-date reference library were part of the National Language Laboratory program. It was suggested that such a central agency could economise and strengthen the linguistic resources of Pakistan in several ways.

The scheme was taken in hand by the then Secretary to the Government of West Pakistan, Education Department. But nothing was heard of it later. The paper has since been included in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (1965). This scheme may at some later date be incorporated in Dil's recent proposal for establishing Institutes of Pakistani Linguistics — one each in East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

10. "A proposal for establishing language institutes in Pakistan" was presented by Mawlana Abdul Qadir during the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists for the establishment of an Institute of Central Asian Languages at the University of Peshawar for the teaching of Uzbeki, Turkamani, Balu, Burushaski, Shina, Tibetan, Russian, Chinese, etc.; an Institute of South-East Asian Languages at Dacca, for Japanese, Indonesian, Burmese, Tagalog, Assamese, etc.; an Institute of African and Middle-Eastern Languages at Karachi and Hyderabad; and an Institute of Modern European Languages at Lahore.

11. Early in 1965 Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan appointed a Committee to explore the possibilities of starting a department of linguistics at the University of the Punjab. Muhammad Baqir, M. Afzal, Iftikhar Ahmad, and Anwar S. Dil were members of the Committee with the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman. No progress has been reported by this Committee.

12. Muhammad Abdu' Hu, speaking in the Second Pakistan Conference of Linguists, said,

Over the years I have been trying to establish a department of Linguistics in the University of Dacca, but, for reasons beyond our control, it could not materialise. ... We could not succeed (in setting up the proposed Language Unit) because of lack of finances at the University of Dacca, but I succeeded in doing at least one thing, that is, in having as many as six members of my department trained in modern linguistics, some in the London School of Oriental and African Studies and some in the United States. Therefore, conditions are very favourable for the establishment of a department of linguistics in Dacca.⁴⁴

13. The Ford Foundation and the British Council have been closely associated with the education departments and universities in some of the linguistic projects described above. But it seems to me that so far their efforts have been understandably directed more toward organising linguistic studies in India. There are indications now that such international agencies will be giving greater attention to the development of linguistic programs in other countries of South Asia.

B

The following extract from Vice-Chancellor Hamid Ahmad Khan's paper (1963) represents an important trend in contemporary Pakistani linguistics.

... my aim is to emphasise that linguistic studies should be directed to bring out the inherent unity of various speech forms in Pakistan. Ours is a developing country which has yet to achieve a sense of national cohesion. It is, therefore, necessary that scientific techniques be as purposefully applied to the study of language as to other departments of nation-building activity. While I deliberately restrict myself to the smaller field of a comparative study in only a part of Pakistan, I hope I am at once understood to imply that it is equally desirable to extend the scope of this kind of study to other regions in both West and East Pakistan (p. 81).

All the Boards and Academies, the Pakistan Council for National Integration, the Pakistan Writers Guild, the national press, radio and television, give priority to such comparative studies of Pakistani languages.

Considerations of inter-regional understanding and national integration dominate the national approach to language and linguistic studies. For example, Justice S. A. Rahman in his inaugural address at the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists emphasized the problem resulting from having two national languages in the country and expressed the hope that with increasing contact between Bengali and Urdu "we shall be brought nearer to the goal of the common national medium of expression" (S. A. Rahman, 1963, p. 21). His proposal for a common script for the national languages was presented with the hope that "perhaps in the course of time the two languages of Pakistan may come to agree on a common script which may well be the Nashk form of Arabic script" (p. 21).

Another such proposal which attracted a great deal of attention in the national

⁴⁴ *Pakistani Linguistics* (1963) 274 (Lahore, 1964).

press came from the late Mohammed Ali of Bogra, then Minister for External Affairs of Pakistan. In his message to the First Pakistan Conference of Linguists he said

This Conference will be doing a yeoman service to the cause of the unity and solidarity of the people of East and West Pakistan if it succeeds at least in giving a lead and direction for the solution of the problem of a national language.

There is no doubt that if a national language could be evolved for both the wings of Pakistan, there will be a greater feeling of cohesion and unity amongst the people because linguistic unity is one of the factors that connote nationhood. In the past no serious attempt has been made to solve this complex problem because the issue has been politically a very explosive one and all political leaders considered that discretion was the better part of valour.

The Urdu language itself is a synthesis and fusion of two languages. From a humble beginning it has become practically the *lingua franca* of the sub-continent. It is rich in culture and tradition. I do not see why we cannot borrow from what has taken place in the past and evolve a Pakistani national language that will satisfy and meet the sentiments, the emotions, and the feelings of the people in both the Wings (Ali, 1963, pp. 25-26).

Needless to say, such proposals more often than not become centers of controversy. These extracts point out a particular type of problem, in addition to those described earlier, which Pakistani linguists must handle whether or not their linguistic training has prepared them for such a task.

C

Perhaps the most immediate need of Pakistani linguistics today is to hold a representative national conference with the active co-operation of the Planning Commission of Pakistan, the Inter-Universities Board of Pakistan, and other organisations in the field to review the present status of linguistic studies and determine what linguistics of any kind can do to promote the best interests of the country, and also determine what definite steps need to be taken to bring Pakistani linguistics more in line with recent researches in linguistic science in the U.S.A., Europe, the U.S.S.R., and other advanced countries of the world. Priorities should then be determined, and properly coordinated development should be ensured so that duplication and the wastage of scarce resources is avoided. This conference could also underline that Pakistani linguistics would do well to develop a universal linguistic view and not commit itself to any one particular school or type of linguistics.

It is to be hoped that efforts will be made to establish an Institute of Pakistani Linguistics each in East Pakistan and West Pakistan — not necessarily a large set-up but a fairly well-equipped teaching and research unit responsible for coordinating linguistic activity in other parts of the province. Perhaps these institutes could be made semi-autonomous units like the Pakistan Civil Service Academy or National Institutes of Public Administration, so that they can function more effectively on the national and international level.

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For most stuff of the older western
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